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GIVEN BY

Misses Thayer.



B. H.

W. H. Thayer

SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES,

ADDRESSED TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES,

AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

BEING AN APPEAL TO THEIR

NATURAL FEELINGS & COMMON SENSE:

CONSISTING OF

Speculations and Animadversions, on the recent revival
of the Slave trade, in the American Republic:

WITH AN

INVESTIGATION

RELATIVE TO THE CONSEQUENT EVILS RESULTING TO THE
CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES FROM THAT EVENT.

INTERSPERSED

WITH A SIMPLIFIED PLAN FOR COLONIZING THE FREE
NEGROES OF THE NORTHERN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THOSE
WHO HAVE, OR MAY EMIGRATE FROM THE
SOUTHERN STATES,

IN A DISTANT PART OF THE NATIONAL TERRITORY:
Considered as the only possible means of avoiding the
deleterious evils attendant on Slavery in a Republic.

BY THOMAS BRANAGAN.

Author of "AVENIA" "A PRELIMINARY ESSAY"
"PENITENTIAL TYRANT." &c.

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Miss Thayer and
others.

MASS. A. M. M.

SEP 15

NOTES TO

DEDICATION.

TO all the true friends of Liberty, particularly the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Commercial Citizens of the Northern States of America, who are the bulwark of our Nation, and the pillars of our Constitution; and who by their distinguished exertions in advocating the rights of man, have done immortal honor to themselves, to their Ancestors, and to the Republican cause: The following work, is respectfully inscribed

By their Sincere Friend,

And Fellow-citizen, the

AUTHOR.

ABRIDGEMENT
OF MR. BLODGET'S ANNUAL
STATISTICAL TABLE,
for the United States.

		In 1784.	In 1804.
Free Persons - - -	Persons	2,650,000	5,000,000
Slaves - - -	ditto	600,000	999,900
Total Population - -	ditto	3,250,000	6,000,000
Increase in each year	ditto	156,150	180,000
Persons to each mile -	ditto	3	6
Improved Lands, total	Acres	21,500,000	38,950,060
Averaged price, do. -	Dollars	3	9
Ditto in their natural state	Cents	35	215
Averaged price Labor	ditto	50	75
Averaged price Wheat	ditto	65	155
Militia, total - - -	Men	541,666	1,050,000
Navy - - -	—Vessels	20 guns	560
Seamen - - -		18,000	64,000
Imports Merchandize -	Dollars	11,000,000	80,000,000
Exports ditto - - -	ditto	9,000,000	77,699,000
Tons Merchant Vessels	ditto	250,000	1,107,323
Revenue United States	Tons		11,064,097
Expenditures ditto -	Dollars		11,058,983
Metallic Medium - -	Dollars	10,000,000	17,500,000
Number Banks - - -	Number	3	59
Banking Capital - -	Dollars	2,150,000	39,500,000
Notes do. circulating -	ditto	2,000,000	14,000,000
Nominal Public Debt -	ditto	200,000,000	98,196,018
Sinking Fund, &c. -	ditto	none	14,413,000
Cash & bonds in the Treasury	ditto		16,500,000
Public lands sold - -	Acres		1,223,978
Proceeds ditto - - -	Dollars		2,888,509
NATIONAL FUNDS, VIZ.			
Active Sinking Fund	Dollars		7,024,450
4,500 Lots in Washington	Dollars		1,500,000
Western Public Lands	Acres	231,224,000	230,00,0000
Louisiana Public Lands	Acres		600,000,000
Total National Domains	Acres		830,000,000

Advertisement,

THAT pedantic stile, and systematical arrangement peculiar to many writers, must not be expected in this work. The author has made it his particular object to digress from the common mode of composition in this respect, because he wishes not to please the learned, but to profit the illiterate, to convince the understandings, and not gratify the literary taste of his fellow citizens; and he flatters himself, his plain arguments will be as well received by the patriotic, the independent citizens of America, as if they were embellished with the flowery emblems of fancy, the profound flourishes of rhetoric, the superfluous disquisitions of criticism, the majestic brilliancy of diction, and the fascinating flippancy

of language with a long string of titles, and a numerous transcription of Greek and latin sentences, all of which in fact have no other tendency, than to demonstrate * the pride and vanity of mans degenerate heart, and lull the unguard-

* In suggesting this observation, I animadvert on a practice common to modern writers in general, as well as pedants in particular. The philosopher and the divine, and even poetical historical, and biographical writers, the most pious and the most profane are guilty of this vain practice of telling the world they can read and write greek and latin : perhaps I am too foolish to see the wisdom of such notifications, be that as it may, I must confess, that whether I look at it, before or behind, side-ways or any way, it appears to me to be the quintessence of vanity with a witness, literary pride without disguise (pardon my boldness when I add) and pedantic folly demonstrated. Nature declares my sentiments in this respect are correct, and custom in conjunction with art, cannot destroy their validity. I would ask, what in the name of common sense, is the use of using language that one reader in one thousand cannot understand, and which has no other tendency but to mortify the reader, who is not a latineest, and notify him that his author is one.

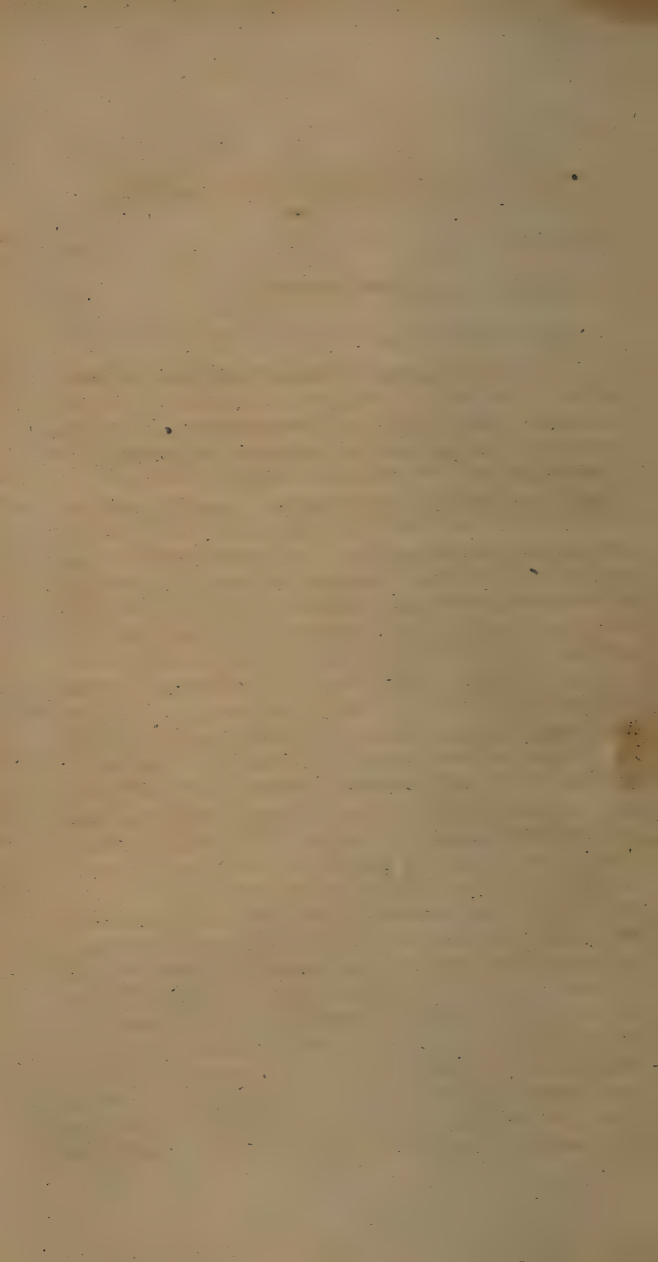
ed patriot, the industrious plebeian, the virtuous farmer, and the honest mechanic asleep in the cradle of political insensibility. If therefore his sincere endeavours and simplified arguments, without the addition of a string of pedantic titles, with latin and greek quotations, have the effect of calling up the spirit of "76" and enhancing the love of his fellow citizens for their children's liberties, and their country's rights. If it will stimulate them, to investigate more minutely their own, as well as their progeny's dearest interests, and impress them with a ten-fold solicitude for the security of their incomparable Government, the only free one the ravages of despotism has left in the world of mankind. If his philanthropic endeavours have these intrinsically excellent tendencies, his object is gained, and he is abundantly rewarded: for to enhance the happiness of man, and promote the glory of God, is the highest

consideration with, and the supremest delight of the author, who equally disregards the despots frown, as he despises the critics sneer. Indeed every reader, on even a superficial investigation of this work, will immediately descry, that the authors ambition is not to be like, but unlike as possible the generality of writers, whose principal object in their literary pursuits is fame, or pecuniary accumulation, all of which he absolutely disclaims (in-form.)

However unwilling conceited critics may be to own it, it is a stubborn fact, that a performance may be, and indeed many are, dull, lifeless, useless and insipid, without a single error, or deviation from the radical rules of composition, as it respects sentiment, language, orthography, or punctuation; on the other hand, there are many works replete with imperfections, and palpable inaccuracies, full of life, ani-

mation, and utility. Indeed there are some political evils pointed out in this work, so notorious and glaringly fatal, (though many will not see them as such) that he has repeatedly exhibited them to popular execration, in order more perfectly to expose their contaminating effects, and deleterious tendencies. His reasons for intentionally deviating from the common mode of writers in his arrangements is, that he might with more facility accommodate his arguments to the capacities of the commonality, and the illiterate, who are more particularly interested in the subject of his investigation, than the higher class of readers.

Philad. August 1st, 1805.



PRELIMINARY REMARKS.



IT will no doubt be asked, (especially by those persons who have perused my recent productions on this subject,) why multiply publications on a topic so well understood, so ably discussed, and philosophically digested by men of profound erudition, distinguished refinement, and liberal sentiments? To answer this interrogation, I may with propriety, as well as authenticity affirm, that perhaps no subject exhibited for popular investigation, so imperiously demands the attention of the patriotic citizens of America as the present, and which is so essentially connected with their interest, and the prosperity of their children, and their children's children. While our presses are crowded with the futile productions of the novalist and romancer, may we not indulge a hope, that a subject so momentous, and interesting, will command some attention. In the discussion of this subject, as well as in the arrangement of my antecedent publications, I have attempted to blend amusement with information, to exhibit variety, and avoid prolixity, to scientific acquirements or extensive reading, to distinguish refinement in sentiment or composition, I do not pretend. However having gained information (if not by books and literary pursuits) by extensive travels, and practical researches, having visited different parts of Africa, as well as the principal West India Islands, and having been myself unhappily concerned in the Slave trade, and personally, as well as theoretically acquainted with the manners, customs, and propensities peculiar to the African race, antecedent and subsequent to their degredation, even from my youth. It must therefore be allowed, that I am

more capacitated to discuss a subject of this nature, than those characters who generally receive their information by here-say, and surely none can be under greater obligations to expose the complicated guilt of tyrannical slave traders, as well as the deleterious evils resulting from the impolitic commerce and slavery of the human species, than a "penitential tyrant." Had I ten thousand tongues, and ten thousand pens, they should all be employed in disclaiming against a trafic, as impolitic as it is impious, as villainous as it is injudicious. Having relinquished the most sanguinary prospects of worldly accumulation and prosperity, from conscientious motives, and having a spirit above flattering villany, offering incense at the shrine of vanity, or adulation to characters cloathed with a little brief authority, whether they are honorable or excellent, reverend or right reverend sinners. I consequently cannot expect a patron, and without one, what are the most exhilarating sentiments, the embellishments of fancy, or even the flowers of rhetoric, like a tapering vapour in our atmosphere, one moment seen, and the next consigned to oblivion; but, with the patronage of his excellency, or his reverence, a flood of words with only a drop of matter, the most insipid composition that ever disgraced the Republic of letters, will pass for sterling merit, and perhaps pass through many editions, especially if a few strings of titles or capitals, such as AM, DM, LLD, or FRS, are affixed to the name. However, amidst all these discouragements, I have one consolation left, to wit: the liberty of claiming the patronage of, and dedicating my works to all their masters, the patriotic, the virtuous, the enlightened, and the independent citizens of America: and if my simplified arguments are instrumental in impressing them with a tenfold solicitude, for the honor and safety of their incomparable Constitution, and glorious Independence; which is their own richest patrimony while untarnished, and the greatest temporal blessing they can bestow on their children, and transmit to posterity, my object is gained, and I am amply rewarded. To consolidate their happiness in par-

ticular and the political emansipation of the African race in general, is the primary object of this performance. Indeed it irritates me, when I remember that the tyrants of the South, gain an ascendancy over the citizens of the North, and enhance their paramount rights of suffrage and sovereignty, accordingly as they enslave and subjugate the inoffensive, the exiled sons of Africa. I am astonished at the stupidity of our citizens, in suffering such palpable villany to be rewarded by political, as well as pecuniary gratifications. But in order to obviate as much as possible, the most cogent objection to my plan, which is the only one that even has the appearance of consistency, namely,—“*If we export our African Brethren, we will relinquish the votes we are entitled to on their account.*” I will advance, or endeavour to advance, the most natural reasons, why we should oppose the antecedent, unjust and injurious inequality in time; which may easily be done by amending the federal constitution, as it respects this clause. But some will say, why not alter that constitution so as to preclude the importation of another slave into the United States?—I would answer such, that this is not probable, as that constitution allows the citizens of the South to import slaves till the year 1808, positively; of consequence this evil cannot be obviated, but the other can. And indeed, unless this villainous inequality is in time remedied, the rights and liberties of our citizens will be eventually swallowed up by importations from Guinea; even admitting we keep, and continue still to import more black citizens (the refuse and off scouring of the citizens of the South) into the bowels of our states. For they will, no doubt, even after the year 1808, continue to import slaves as they have done, for as they have done prior to the revival of the slave trade, they will do after the abolition of that trade,—to wit: import thousands of slaves through the instrumentality of smugglers; I say, admitting this to be the case, the votes of all the citizens of the North, including their negro citizens, will not be equal to the negro votes of the South! and what will the consequences be? I shudder even to think of them.

Hence, if my plan was once adopted, and our citizens were virtuously to have nothing to do with negroes, or their votes, it would prove an intrinsically glorious incentive or stimulus, to induce the patriotic citizens of the North, to use all their power and influence to have that scandalous and infernal inequality eradicated, before it is (which without doubt will soon be the case) the cause of anarchy and intestine commotion; and perhaps, the annihilation of the federal compact. With how much more success would our citizens, on such an event, vindicate their rights without being burthened with negroes. To suppose the citizens of the North will peaceably submit to be robbed of all their rights of suffrage, by the slave-dealers of the South, is to suppose a drop of the blood of their fathers does not flow in their veins; and that they are all worse than cowards, traitors and enslavers of their own children. They should invincibly protest against this infamous inequality, and resolve with a manly and honourable assiduity, not to have neither hand, act, or part in negroes, and their votes.



SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES,

ADDRESSED TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES,

AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES:



Relative to the impolicy of keeping three hundred thousand well informed and aspiring Negroes in the bowels of their states: especially on an event, of the Citizens being necessitated to march to the frontiers to repel an invading foe.

WHEN I view in the historic page the downfall of the most popular and prosperous of the nations of antiquity, through the instrumentality of vassals and the insurrections of slaves, I am truly astonished that the people of America do not, or rather will not see, that the same cause will produce the same effects, in modern as it did in ancient times. Yet how cautious were the orientals of their slaves in time of peace, and how prudent in time of war; when they were compelled to take the front of battle, and were not allowed to remain with the women and children in the cities and towns, while their

masters repelled in the field, their invading foes. What a pity it is, that the friends of our constitution, in all their amendments, never attempt to remedy this growing evil, this accumulating gangrene, which is devouring the vitals of the body politic. How many will cry out when they read our title page, "never fear," without investigating any of our arguments. I can scarce refrain from pointing the finger of scorn at such ungenerous and uncandid characters. Every intelligent person, will at once see the impolicy of leaving our cities and towns to face an invading foe, (which I fear will be the case sooner than many expect) with thousands of revengeful negroes in full possession of them. Yes, I firmly believe, we will be compelled, though perhaps contrary to our inclinations and interest, to enter the lists with some of the belligerent powers. At any rate, we cannot always expect to be at peace; and many thousands of the oppressed Africans look with anxious solicitude for that moment to arrive, when the nation is engaged in domestic or foreign hostility—when they expect to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights—the

natural rights of man. If therefore, my plan is rejected, without a hearing, and my arguments without even a superficial investigation, would it not in this case be at least prudent for our citizens, contrary to their present policy respecting negroes and people of colour, I say, would it not be more prudent and less dangerous to arm them, and bring them to the field of battle, in imitation of the ancients, rather than leave them with our wives and children? surely it would be far less dangerous. How important the consideration, (yet how neglected) that one revengeful negro in our city, is a more formidable foe, than a thousand Indians on our frontiers. I must acknowledge that it would be far better, if it could be done, without inhumanity, to send the blacks to some distant island, out of our territories altogether. But this measure would be both unjust and cruel, though it has been recommended by many respectable politicians, as a necessary defensive measure.

But the plan I propose for the accomodation of the blacks, I would with a number of my fellow citizens joyfully embrace myself, and

consider it as the most advantageous circumstance of my life to have the offer made me; then with industry I might not only provide comfortably for my family through life, but at death leave them independent: whereas, if matters continue as they are, the very reverse will be the case. I would just hint to some of my fellow citizens, whose sentiments correspond with mine in this respect, that it would be an excellent design, if a number of them would unite and appoint a committee to petition Congress, to allow them a certain number of acres of land for a new settlement, and the same committee to investigate and chuse the land and make other necessary arrangements, &c. &c. Thus many an honest family would be provided for comfortably, who are now in penury and want, and many others would gain at least a competency. Their children would then have a home, and means with industry to provide for themselves; whereas, now when their unfortunate parents die, they are promiscuously bound out in rich men's houses, to pick bones in their kitchens, be associates for their negroes, treated with contempt and without even a

prospect of advancement ; and when sick to be hoisted away to the bettering-house to die in obscurity.

These judicious measures, would not only dry up the orphans' tears,* cheer the widows heart, and cause the stranger to dance for joy, but would be the means of depositing millions of dollars, in the public treasury. Fifteen million, have been paid for Louisiana, and it behoves government to use every just means to reimburse that money.

Many rich men will reprobate my plan, because they suppose black persons will suit them better as servants, than poor white people, and will bear kicking about, and put up with their insults better than white servants, and take less wages. And must the greater part of our citizens, the commercial, mechanical, and agricultural part of the community, be opposed and injured, for the foolish and capricious accomodation of a few epicures, debauchies, or rich gluttons ? I hope

* There has been more mercantile failures in this city, and families reduced within these two months than for many years before. Merchants have failed to my knowledge, in that time to upwards of 700,000 dollars.

not. All rich persons are by no means included in this animadversion, none but the supercilious, capricious and penurious. If their parsimonious propensities move them to oppose my plan, the pecuniary embarrassments of millions of their fellow citizens, move them to advocate and support it. Though such characters regardless of others, attend merely to their own private accommodation ; yet if the evils I deprecate should fall upon us, the event would convince them of their folly, and the impolicy of their partiality. They would then feel, as well as know, that the cunning of the fox is more destructive than the rage of the lion. If my plan should unhappily be consigned to oblivion, without investigation, and my arguments in favour of it without a hearing, and the evils I anticipate be realized, in such an event this performance would be the mittimus to convey the names of some official characters, who have it in their power to provide ways and means for the practical operation of my plan, to the prison of public indignation, perpetual execration, and the bitter denunciations of posterity. There are cases which lan-

guage is unable to depicture; and such must be the case of those, who read these arguments with indifference; for if they see no danger in the circumstances I relate, I must either be dreaming while I write, or they must be delirious while they read my propositions: however, those who take reason for their criterion, are not easily beaten out of their arguments. To me my reasoning on this subject, is as clear as a sun beam, and indeed I endeavour to exhibit truth before the mind's eye, and bring reason to the intellectual ear, clear as the moon, bright as the sun, and powerful as an army with banners; and those that will not see or hear, must be wilfully deaf, and resolutely blind; or, to speak plainer, must be either rogues or fools. In reasoning upon this subject, I think it is impossible for a person to err, unless he does it voluntarily. There are such a cloud of witnesses, so many concurring circumstances, to prove the validity of my arguments, in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, that a person has nothing to do, but as it were, by a counter-march into the rear of time, by a retrospective view of past

events to judge of our present danger. By this means we may become wise with very little trouble. Local prejudice and error in opinion may be corrected, by a single exertion of thought, and the mist once dissipated, cannot be collected again. One cogent argument or energetic reason, will be more efficacious in obliterating prejudice from the mind, than volumes of dull, though correct, puerile though methodical arguments.

It is sometimes with governments, as injudiciously parsimonious individuals, who save at the spile and lose at the bung-hole, according to the old proverb; and this sentiment will be applicable to our government, if they from selfish motives reprobate the prefixed plan, and prefer spending thousands, and losing millions of dollars on account of the negroes in the North, sooner than appropriate a few hundred thousand acres of land, at some distant * part of the na-

* The new state might be established upwards of 2000 miles from our population. It is asserted that the most distant part of Louisiana is farther from us than some parts of Europe.

tional domains, (that will not be worth a cent to government this five hundred years) for their accommodation and support. We are the most prosperous nation in the world, and have been the most brave, in "times which tried men's souls:" Heaven forbid it should be with us as it was with Agamemmon, who vanquished mighty armies like a hero, and was, for the want of precaution, himself vanquished like a woman. Our Southern brethren are like a profligate, bent on his own ruin; duplicity and vanity are so interwoven with their politics, that recent scenes exhibited in Hispaniola, does not in the least alarm their fears. Our prospects and politics are as different from theirs, as light is from darkness. It would be as absurd to reason with them in this manner, or cause them to forego their slaves, as it would be to attempt by argument to prevail on a lion to forego his mangled prey. We have like true christians and patriots, relinquished our ill-gotten slaves; we have made them free virtually, but not politically: let us then from motives of generosity, as well as self-preservation, make them free and happy in

every sense of the word, in a republic of their own; seeing it is impracticable to make them such amongst ourselves; and thus, like Pilate, let us wash our hands, and shake their blood from our garments. I remember when I was a minor, while a privateering on board of the brig *Lamp* of Bermuda, the first cruise I went, I saw such palpable villainy in the business, that I relinquished all my prize money, and at the same time left the privateer and her piratical crew; and in the same manner, and from the same conscientious motives, I relinquished a lucrative establishment in Antigua, as planter. The citizens of the North, have thus relinquished the wages of unrighteousness; like me let them likewise separate from those, who their avarice formerly subjugated, and make them ample amends for interior injustice, by subsequent acts of kindness and benevolence: and the only way to do this, is by making them free and independent citizens of America, in a separate state of their own, as already hinted. Notwithstanding the rectitude of our republican principles and the justice of many of our penal

laws, there is nevertheless, a radical evil which has a tendency to annihilate the body politic: I need not designate it, it is of such magnitude as not to escape the observation of any; and while this paramount evil remains, the public weal is endangered, our national reputation is indelibly tarnished, and cogent measures are necessary to obliterate this indelible stigma. To the mortification of philanthropy, to the grief of humanity, to the indignation of morality, and the astonishment of patriotism, the degrading tale must be told; that in this country, where so much precious blood has been spilt in the cause of freedom, where so many heroic and patriotic lives have been sacrificed at the shrine of liberty, in this free country where our motto is *virtue, liberty, independence!* and from which has been proclaimed to a world of vassals, and despots, that the basis of our incomparable constitution, as well as our political sentiments is, "that all men are born free and equal," and yet in this free country, inconsistent as it must appear, though a contradiction in terms and ideas, it is a fact as stubborn as melancholy, that those republicans whose bosoms glow

at the name of liberty, who profess to be her most zealous votaries, and indefatigable defenders, in the commencement of the nineteenth century, have not only established, but consolidated the most horrid despotism, and riveted the chains of the most diabolical slavery, that ever tormented and disgraced the human species. To designate the complicated villany of such conduct in a theological, or a philosophical point of view, is no part of my present design : this I have copiously done, or attempted to do already in my antecedent publications. My present object is, by the plain dictates of reason and sound policy, to demonstrate the concomitant evils resulting from a commerce as barbarous, as it is unjust. In doing this, it will not be expected, that I will use the flowery embellishments of fancy, or the sublime flourishes of rhetoric, to illustrate my propositions ; but rather narrate the simple matter of fact, and indeed it will be also necessary for me to pass over in silence the unutterable sufferings of the human beings, who are the victims of our avarice ; an exhibition of which would occasion a shock humanity could not bear : consequently I must draw

a veil over scenes too melancholy for recital, and too tragical for the sympathetic ear of philanthropy to hear; and confine myself to a view of the tragical subject more immediately applicable to ourselves.

In the first place, I feel no hesitation in affirming, that it is the bounden duty of the legislatures, and representatives of these States, whose patriotism has abolished slavery, reciprocally, to protest against the deleterious policy of the legislature of a sister State in renewing the slave trade, as well as unanimously to propose an amendment to the federal constitution, if not for the laudable, and the intrinsically excellent purpose of prohibiting the further importation of slaves into the American republic; at least to preclude the citizens of the South, from gaining a preponderating influence in Congress, by their villany. Unanimity among the friends of liberty, in this respect, will no doubt be found efficacious; for however the judgment of some of the members of Congress may be biassed by sentimental prejudice, and local circumstances, I am confident, that with regard to the abstract principle, all candid and enlightened minds, must concur.

I would ask, what is the end of civil society? the answer is obvious, the acceleration of social happiness. If therefore these premises are allowed to be correct, human beings are held in perpetual servitude, absolute slavery, only by the ties of villany, and fraud, injustice and ingenerosity, in open hostilities with reason, and the nature of things, as well as the fundamental principles of all legitimate associations. This must be obvious to every discerning mind; to enlarge therefore on the sentiment, would be to insult my reader's understanding, to suppose he did not see the injustice of slavery himself, is degrading him to an idiot. But before I proceed any farther, I will advance a few, and only a few reasons, where thousands might be adduced, in order to prove upon occular demonstration, that it is the indispensable duty of the legislatures and representatives of the Northern States, unanimously to protest against the policy of the Southern, and to use their utmost endeavours to get the federal constitution amended in a part that is not only injurious, but an insult to them individually and collectively, and pregnant with the most inevitable

consequences.* The reasons I allude to, I would humbly beg the liberty to transcribe from my "notes explanatory and miscellaneous," page 315.

"It is unanimously allowed by friends and foes, that the federal union of the States is radically the paramount palladium of our republic: dissolve that compact, and we become a prey to intestine commotion, foreign influence, and sanguinary invasion. By the constitution of the United States, it is provided that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included in the Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those

* If the representatives of the North (or the states that oppose Slavery practically as well as theoretically) should be discouraged from proposing an amendment to the constitution on account of the preponderating influence of the representatives of the South: I would suggest to them a motion which I think would be proper to be made in the house, and that is—that the citizens of the North shall be entitled to 2 votes for every 5 head of horned cattle they possess in order to be on an equality with the citizens of the south; this surely is as reasonable, and a thousand times more just than the Present mode of allowing two votes for every five head of negroes in the South.

bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." This principal evidently secures to the qualified voters of a State possessing slaves, the right of choosing a greater number of representatives, in proportion to the free citizens, than is enjoyed by the citizens of a State, who from honourable and virtuous motives, refuses to participate in the barbarous oppression and slavery of their fellow creatures; so that 20,000 proprietors of 50,000 slaves have a voice in the elections equivalent to that of 50,000 free persons who are destitute of this species of property. The admission of this deleterious principle into our national compact, was unquestionably the dictates of necessity. The members of the convention from the Eastern States, consented to it as a choice of difficulties, preferring a partial sacrifice of their rights, with the chance of future remedy, to the hazard of losing the whole constitution. In the same spirit, the principle was supported in the State conventions, by the best talents in the Northern States. The number of slaves in the Southern States, according to the last census, is 847,748, exclu-

sive of several thousands recently imported from Africa. Now deducting from the prefixed number two-fifths, the remainder gives to their tyrants the right of electing fifteen representatives, and this number exceeds by one, the whole number to which New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut together, are entitled. The number of representatives apportioned to all the Northern States is 35, so that the negro votes alone, in choice of electors and members of congress, bear a proportion to the votes of all the free citizens of the Northern States of 15 to 35. I ask any man, friend or foe, is this just or generous; and the misfortune is, that this inequality is constantly accumulating in favour of the slave traders and owners."

These considerations alone, should cause our representatives to be on the alert, even laying aside the principles of natural justice, moral rectitude, and the super-excellent precepts of revelation, which inculcates, "that we should do to all men whatever we would that they should do unto us, and that we should love our neighbours (or all mankind) as ourselves;" this is the sum-

total of all social duty : these are the principles of evangelical rectitude which are in determined hostility against all slavery and despotism, political, ecclesiastical, and domestic. It is nugatory to address the advocates of slavery on these principles of morality, while they suppose interest and policy differs from them. My principal object therefore, shall be in these compendious strictures, to demonstrate that slavery is as diametrically opposite to sound policy, and true interest, as it is to natural justice, and christian rectitude. With respect to the slaves, if our diffinition is correct : Slavery debases and contaminates the immortal soul, as well as torments and lacerates the mortal body : This will appear evident upon the most superficial view of the subject. I have proved this to be the case in my practical researches as well as theoretical investigation : on the other hand it has a direct tendency to generate the most infamous vices among their oppressors, a recital of which delicacy forbids me to particularize. In short, slavery is a present and eternal injury to the judicially infatuated charaters who encourage and support it, as well as those

who suffer by it temporally. It is an encouragement, an incitement to indolence, licentiousness, concupiscence, pride, treachery, fraud, falshood, and a train of evils too tedious to enumerate in the oppressor. And with respect to the oppressed, it debases the mind and corrupts the moral character very naturally : for what else can be expected of ignorant, unlettered Africans, groaning under the frowns of oppression, seeing nothing but complicated villany and violence ; instructed by the treachery and deception, with which they are subjected, they naturally learn to disregard the rights of others ; every moral feeling is blunted, and every social virtue is destroyed. Thus when individuals in the South become proselytes to religion, or moral rectitude, they are impelled to liberate their slaves ; and as it would be injudicious to let them remain with the other slaves, they will not therefore be employed ; they are of course exported to the North, where we have to provide for, and support them, with all their vices upon them. The negroes who have been most aufully contaminated by our Southern fellow-citizens, are thus a greivous burthen to us ;

they get the benefit, and we the trouble. Hence we find many come amongst us from the South, who are pests to society, being sunk into the lowest state of debasement, under the iron rod of depotism.

But slavery is not only destructive to the morals of society, but to national industry, improvement, and population : it makes one part of the community indolent by taking away the reward of industry, and the other supine by obviating the necessary stimulus to assiduity. When tyrants can make others the servile instruments of their will, it cannot be supposed that they will pay any attention to industry and labour. Hence slavery sows the seeds of social weakness, and disorder. By the œconomy of nature, we may ascertain that slavery is the grand impoverisher of a state; it diminishes industry, and discourages population. What I here advance is abundantly exemplified by the history of our own country; by slavery national prosperity must be impeded or must decline. Then since the unanimous voices of reason, religion, humanity, and patriotism concur in deprecating an evil, and condemning a system so pregnant with ruin, to the

body politic ; wherefore, whether we are aristocrats, democrats, or federalists, we are bound (who have children or relatives if we feel, natural affection for them) to unite all our force, and labour for the annihilation of such a barbarous commerce ; solicited by so many cogent considerations our representatives will not, I flatter myself, be deterred by all the clamours of injustice and avarice, to relinquish their laudable endeavours for the safety of their constituents, and prosperity of their country ; many plans have been suggested by candid persons for the purpose of ameliorating the situation of slaves, some have proposed an instantaneous emancipation of 800,000 slaves : others have proposed a gradual emancipation and to confer on the liberated negroes all the rights of citizens political, and social. Though I revere the persons who have made these propositions, I must affirm that they utterly tend to frustrate the objects they mean to accelerate ; they are encumbered with inseparable difficulties, and in some respects involve greater mischief than the original disorder designed to be cured. Without farther procrastination, I will develop my plan, which I will prove

or endeavour to prove, will answer the end proposed better than any plan that has yet been adopted, which is briefly; to appropriate a proportionable part of the territory which we purchased from France for 15,000,000 dollars, as a colony, or separte state, a particular quantum of that land to be given to each free coloured person who would emigrate gratis; funds to be established in the several states for the accommodation of the negroes, who would think proper* to emigrate to enable them to clear and cultivate



* This observation is made on the supposition, that it would be incompatible with the laws of the land to force them to emigrate; but if this is not the case, I think, if comfortable provision was made for them elsewhere; if they refused to go with their families where the government thought proper to point out, they should be sent perforce. This would not be infringing the laws of hospitality, or philanthropy, for every reasonable person must allow that it is better for the blacks themselves to be accomodated domestically, and settled politically independent by themselves, than associate with the whites with whom they never can enjoy reciprocal rights, and political privileges. Would it not be just and generous, as well as hospitable, to force a foolish or stubborn person from a place where he was surrounded with poverty, to a place where he would be crowned with plenty: from a place where he was politically a slave, where he would be politically free: certainly it would.

the land, for their own use, and as their own property for ever ; a governor, judges, and magistrates, to be appointed (as in New-Orleans) by the President of the United States : of the most intelligent and virtuous of the African race, so that such white persons as wish to emigrate and associate with the blacks, may likewise be under their control and governed by them. Thus the most fertile land, from a wilderness would be metamorphosed to a garden, and thousands of free negroes who are at present starving with hunger, and destitute of employ, would be put in a capacity to enrich themselves, and provide for their posterity : and the benevolent slave holders in the South, who wish to liberate their slaves, but forego their generous intentions, by this means would have an opportunity to redeem them from wretchedness, and crown them with peace, happiness, and plenty. That this plan might be very easily realized, may be demonstrated from the case of tens of thousands of Europeans, who have cleared and cultivated the Western forests, and changed the baren wilderness to flourishing states and fruitful gardens; but as facts are more convincing than the

most systematical reasoning, I will contract the most reasonable plan that has yet been exhibited for the accommodation of slaves, and the one I here suggest, and that the most illiterate may see the difference, I will delineate my hypothesis in the most simple and comprehensive manner.

First, I would depict the only plan that has yet been devised, to deliver our country from the destructive evils in question, which has been even partially attended with success; and exhibit the paramount injuries attending this plan, both to the citizens of the North, and the negroes that either elope from the South, or that receive their transmission from their original proprietors. The plan I allude to is this; that the slaves should be emancipated in the South in a gradual manner, while ways and means should be provided in the North for their intellectual and moral instruction; and when capacitated, to be received as citizens of the United States, and to enjoy privileges accordingly, and be on the same state of political and social equality with the whites. This is the best method that has yet been adopted, which I will prove from experience, to be big with very

unpleasant effects, and exceedingly injurious to the citizens of the North.

In the first place, it is impossible in the nature of things, for the blacks in the North ever to be reconciled to the whites; while hundreds of thousands of their countrymen are groaning, bleeding, and dying, beneath the frowns of despotism, in the South. To suppose they can be reconciled while this is the case, is the first-born of absurdities, the persons therefore who have proposed the antecedent plan which has already in a partial manner been executed, proclaimed to the world, that they have had less foresight than the Philistian lords in the matter of David, though he conducted himself with the utmost propriety during his residence amongst them, (which is far from being the case with thousands of free blacks amongst us) yet they knew human nature better than to suffer him and his men to remain in their army, though it was the particular desire of their king, at a certain period, when he was about to engage his enemies. "For the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds, and by thousands, but David and his men passed on in the rere-ward with Achish

the king ; Then said the princes of the Philistines, what do these Hebrews here ? And Achish said unto the princes of the Philistines, is not this David, which hath been with us these days, or these years, and I have found no fault with him, since he fell unto me, unto this day ? And the princes of the Philistines was wrath with him, and they said unto him, make the fellow return, that he may go again into his place, and let him not go down with us to battle, least in the battle he be an adversary to us ; for, wherewith should he reconcile himself to his master ; would it not be with the heads of these men ? ”

But this comparison will not hold good in one instance, namely, David had only one enemy Saul, among the Israelites, by whom he was oppressed ; whereas the Africans have millions among the Americans, which in such a case should, and no doubt would stimulate them on a similar event, to prove most formidable adversaries to the whites ; and that such an event, or rather confederacy amongst the people of color may again take place, as it frequently has in this country as well as in the West Indies, is not only

possible but very probable; and in such an event permit me to repeat the sentiment though already anticipated "ten blacks in the North would do more execution than one hundred in the South;" the reason is obvious, there are great restraints upon the one, and none upon the other.

For the sake of illustration we will suppose that a general rebellion broke out among the blacks from New Hampshire to Georgia, which I have not the least doubt will be the case sooner or later; would not the blacks in the North, be worse than the worst of tories, ~~were~~ last war, if they did not assist with every possible means in their power their Southern brethren, to regain their liberty, and with it all the privileges social and political peculiar to freemen? Without any manner of doubt. Are not slaveholders, and their slaves at open and perpetual war, a war that is daily carried on in the most sanguinary manner, and with unremitting efforts. In order then to ascertain what is the duty of Africans to their oppressors, we must ask ourselves, what would we conceive our duty to be, to a gang of robbers, who came by night to rob, murder, and de-

stroy us, and our families? The answer is plain, if we had the ability and opportunity, we would destroy our enemies, preserve our families and liberties, or die in the attempt. If we consider the conditions of 8 or 900, 000 blacks and colored persons, in the most abject and humiliating bondage in this country, our hypothesis will appear more sonorous. They are bound to obey the unjust laws that rob them of their all, and subjects them unconditionally to the caprice and cruelty of their tyrants. They are forced to submit to laws that bereave them of liberty, life and property. These laws, and the legislatures or government that framed them, are their mortal, their most implacable enemies: then how can such injured persons, owe any allegiance to such governments, whose laws they suffer the penalty of, for the least misdemeanors; yet without receiving the least benefit from them. If they derive any, it is only the partial protection of their life and limbs; and this only tends to perpetuate their unutterable misery.

I ask any man of common sense, must not such persons, and their progeny, be irresistibly stimulated to endeavour to regain

their liberty, and punish their murderers? Must not the most superficial recollection of their wrongs, enhance a propensity for revenge in the free blacks, now in the North? Can they forget the injuries their ancestors met with from Americans, and when they remember that they were robbed, enslaved, and murdered; can they help feeling an involuntary disgust to their tyrants, their children, their color and their country? It is impossible! Let us bring the matter home to ourselves; if a certain family used my father and his family (myself excepted) as the christians do the exiled Africans, could I forget it? I could sooner forget my a, b, c, or forget I had a head upon my shoulders. If therefore my definition is correct, and I do not see how it can be incorrect, the sons of Africa in America, are the inveterate enemies of Americans, and are at perpetual war with them. With respect to the former the war is properly defensive, with the latter it is offensive; and nothing can put an end to this sanguinary warfare, but for the one party to forego the rights they bereaved the others of, and with the ill-gotten booty, exonerate the most illegal policy, destructive

measures, and shocking guilt. Thus if the virtue of the citizens of the South, was paramount to their avarice, it would be more than madness for them to emancipate their slaves and let them remain with them as free men and citizens. It would be exactly as if a man who greatly injured another person, unjustly, and consequently made him his enemy has the injured person bound and in his power, he is in part out of danger; but if he liberates him, and puts a sword in his hand, there is nothing more certain, than that he will be revenged of his adversary. A man must shut his eyes against the light, and basely insult his understanding, not to see the deleterious policy* of keeping a numerous and at the same time a growing body of people amongst us knowing the vitals of

* It is St. George Tucker's opinion, that by propagation alone, in 30 years the blacks will be double in number to what they are at present; and so on in following years, if (as it is in the Northern states) there is no cruelty or hardship exercised over them. If this supposition is correct, (of which there can be no doubt) what multitudes of natural enemies must our children, and grand children have to combat with. Even in Philadelphia, their number must be augmented to 50,000 at least in 60 years.

the body politic, for the blacks in the South propagate very slowly owing to their hard usage, those in the North propagate rapidly, consequently in the course of 10 or 20 years we may expect the number of blacks in the North will be augmented to several hundred Thousands.

In Philadelphia alone there are fifteen or twenty thousand blacks and mulattoes, numbers of them children of white women of easy virtue, and if they propagate and are imported from the South, as they have been for years back, what a brood must we have in 30 years hence : and supposing at the end of that period, the slaves in Delaware should confederate and subjugate their tyrants, which is both probable and possible. Suppose an army of them on such an event, should march to Philadelphia ; in what a wretched situation must our children be ; in such a crisis must they not execrate our negligence, and curse our impolicy, if not our sleeping dust while we are mouldering in our graves. The evils I deprecate though imaginary, are very likely to occur ; for more improbable circumstances has occurred : the

downfall of empires, great and populous, have been effected by less probable means.

It cannot be consistent with the principles of good policy, to nurture an enemy in the bowels of our country, who have every reason, and the most cogent temptations to produce confusion and anarchy in peace, and be our greatest adversaries in war. For it is their interest, and no doubt will be their object, when opportunity serves, to subvert our government: they can loose nothing and will gain every thing. They can then enslave the whites and inherit their riches, and thus pay them in their own coin for all their barbarities to themselves and their ancestors. If an hour should unhappily arrive, at a subsequent period when the body politic would be endangered from foreign invasion, or intestine commotion, what direful havoc would a handfull of infuriated negroes, in conjunction with an invading foe, or an enterprising faction occasion in the heart of our country. And I may add, almost in the heart of every rich family, especially when perhaps those families in particular, (who continually keep from 3 to 6 black domestics about them) are softened by luxury, relaxed

by indolence, and incapacitated for warfare by a sedentary life, as well as the nation in general. A want of precaution in this respect, was the radical cause of the premature downfall of the Grecian and Roman Republics : those who have read the history of Greece and Rome, even with a superficial attention, will ascertain that there were many bloody insurrections of their slaves in the countries, which their histories severally comprehend. And though it has been insinuated in modern, as well as antient times, that the opposers of slavery, and the friends of liberty, were the ultimate cause of these insurrections. It is a stubborn fact, that the misfortunes and evils were centered in the impolicy of slavery ; hence some have reproached the friends of liberty for the insurrection that took place in Hispaniola, but no one can read even a compendious account of that event without being convinced of the fallacy of such aspersions.

“ Whoever, has read the history of the West India islands from their first establishment to the year 1786, must have read it very superficially, not to know, that there have been various insurrections of the slaves

there, within this period. There was formerly a bloody one at St. Domingo, besides that which has lately happened. There have been several in Jamaica, and other Islands have had their share of them also.

Now, it is impossible that any of these could have had their origin in the efforts of the gentlemen associated for the Abolition. To what cause then may we attribute the insurrection in the islands? Undoubtedly to the slave trade, in consequence of which thousands are annually poured into the islands, who have been fraudulently and forcibly deprived of their natural rights. All these come into them of course with dissatisfied and exasperated minds; and this discontent and feeling of resentment must be further heightened by the treatment which people coming into them under such a situation must avoidably receive; for we cannot keep people in a state of subjection to us, who acknowledge no obligation whatever to serve us, but by breaking their spirits and treating them as creatures of another species. Now, that this is the cause is evident from Mr. Long, the celebrated champion of the Planters themselves, who states in his history

of Jamaica, that all the insurrections of the slaves that he could ever trace in the islands, where begun by the imported Africans, and never by the creole or island-born slaves.

Such then being actually the cause, and this being likely from common reason to be the cause while men have the passions of men, and this being adequate of itself, at all times, to produce the same effect, what reasons can there be for imagining that the insurrection in St. Domingo proceeded from any other source; particularly as these insurrections have been as numerous before any association for the Abolition of the slave trade took place, as since their institution? As, however, the present insurrection in St. Domingo is somewhat connected with the late Revolution in France, it may be necessary to say a few words upon it as related to that event.

As soon as the news of this Revolution was conveyed to St. Domingo, the white people there divided into parties, as in the Mother Country, the one for the Revolution, the other for the government in its ancient form.

Again, as soon as the principles of that Revolution, as particularized in the declaration of rights was proclaimed in that Colony, a third party, and that a formidable one, arose. This consisted of the people of colour, who, notwithstanding many of them had received a liberal education, and were in many instances larger proprietors in the island than the whites, were in a depressed and degraded state. They felt forcibly the justice of these principles; and when they considered that these were held out by the Representatives of the parent country, they determined to assert their right to equal privileges with the rest of the Colonists. In consequence of this, they held a meeting, after which they sent several worthy persons of their own body to Paris, to represent them in the National Assembly of France. On their arrival they found their way to the Bureau de Verification, where it was necessary for them to have their claim to representation ascertained and sanctioned, before they could be admitted as deputies into the Assembly.

The white planters, however, who happened to have seats in the National Assem-

bly at this time, found means to croud in this bureau or committee, just mentioned, with a view of hindering the deputies from the people of color, from having a place in the same legislative body with themselves. They pretended to find some flaw in their powers, and put off the further consideration for a few weeks. At the end of this time, in consequence of the great exertions of the deputies of color, they were obliged to resume the consideration of the case; they then acknowledged their error, gave up the legality of the flaw at first started, but pretended to have discovered one of another nature. In this way they put off the deputies from committee to committee, hindering them by these means from coming before the Assembly at all. When at last, one of the deputies, of the name of Oge, a man of property, education and abilities, but of much stronger passions than his colleagues, returned to St. Domingo to represent to their constituents the treatment they had met with from the white planters in France.

His representations of the case, soon reached the ears of some of the whites of

St. Domingo, who communicated the intelligence to others of their own description, which produced a determination in them to make a victim of Oge, by taking away his life; they attacked him and few of his adherents, at various times, in armed parties, some of whom he defeated, and from others he was obliged to fly; pressed however at last, he was obliged to take refuge in the Spanish part of the island, where he was treacherously given up, and soon after, though he was never publicly examined, he was broken alive on the wheel, with twenty-five of his followers.

This barbarous destruction of a person, whom the people of color so generally and deservedly esteemed, only widened the breach between them and the whites of the island, and exasperated them to seek their revenge upon the latter.—While they were planning schemes with this view, news arrived in the Colony that those of their deputies who, after Oge's departure, had remained in France, had, by their perseverance, obtained a hearing before the National Assembly; which on the same day decreed, that all the people of color, born of

free parents, were Frenchmen, and of course entitled to all the privileges of Frenchmen; and among others, to that of being represented also. This news, when received at St. Domingo, as much exasperated the white inhabitants as the death of Oge had the people of color there; and all their breasts began to burn with a spirit of revenge against the latter. Here then we see no less than three factions prevalent at the same moment in St. Domingo. The whites divided into two parties, as they adhered to the new constitution or the old; and the whites and people of color burning with a fury hardly satiable but by the extirpation of one another. What then did the negroes do at this interesting moment? Seeing their lords and masters not able to agree among themselves, but at daggers drawing with one another, they determined to take advantage of the divisions among them, and to assert their violated rights by force of arms. Such is the true state of the case respecting the insurrection at St. Domingo, and what do we learn from it but the following truth? "That the slave trade, and the oppression naturally resulting from it,

was the real and only cause of this insurrection," as it ever has been, and ever will be, of similar events; but that the Revolution of France, by causing the three divisions before mentioned, did afford the Negroes an opportunity which they would otherwise not so easily have found, of endeavouring to vindicate for themselves their unalienable rights.

The above accounts then lead us to three separate conclusions: First, that the slave trade is the real cause of all the West India insurrections.....Secondly, that as long as it exists, so long may these insurrections be expected....And thirdly, That the blacks are jealous of their liberties, and would wade through seas of blood, when an opportunity would offer, to vindicate their rights, and revenge past injuries. Indeed the barbarities committed by the Christian powers, particularly by the Spaniards, not only on the negroes, but on the original inhabitants of Hispaniola, will never, never be forgotten. Though it must be allowed, that Columbus the first discoverer of this Island, was not only an enterprising adventurer, but also a humane person: yet the Spaniards who fol-

lowed him, were monsters of cruelty, which their brutal conduct, in destroying the original natives of this island in cool blood, will abundantly demonstrate. They massacred no less than three million of men, women, and children, who were shot like birds of the air, hunted and torn to pieces by blood hounds like beasts of the forest, till they were extinct.

Thus we see, in the most obvious and convincing manner, the melancholy effects of such wicked policy; indeed it is utterly impossible, for a reasonable and intelligent African, to be in any respect favourable to the government, that is the implacable enemy of his nation, in open hostility with all his country-men, and of all his color. If he is reconciled, he is in fact a tory, and worse than a tory, a traitor. Consistency and virtue are the primary pillars of civil government; take these away, and it begins to nod to its fall. If we see a mans conduct glaringly inconsistent, can we have any confidence in him? It is impossible. If we see him rob a next door neighbour, can we believe he is an honest man? as well might we believe in the authenticity of the Platonic sys-

tem. In order therefore to make our hypothesis more glaring, I will affirm that the poor whites, much less the poor blacks, cannot have confidence in the legislators, who one moment declare, as the palladium of their political sentiments, and federal government, that all men are by nature free, and yet foresooth in the same breath, assert many to be slaves : and those who concur in this sentiment, proclaim their villany, as well as inconsistency to the world, and virtually cautions men of common discernment not to place any confidence in their official acts, or private contracts. In short, they destroy mutual confidence, and break the legitimate chain which binds civilized society together.

My object is not to exhibit particularly the injury slavery is to the citizens of the South, where they still encourage and support it, and will continue so to do, no doubt, till it eventually proves their overthrow. Indeed those who are sensible that the information, political and social of the slaves in the Southern States, is superior to those in the West Indies, as one is to one hundred, must deprecate this threatening evil. My object is

to show the great evil, slavery in the South is to the citizens of the North. I conceive it a very great hardship, that the citizens of those States, who have nobly abolished slavery, should suffer on account of the villany of those who encourage and support it. It is far more unjust and ungenerous, than the conduct of the prostitute, who forces her virtuous neighbour to maintain her spurious offspring. It is a shameful disgrace, as well as injury to the people of America, individually and collectively. It is virtually making us all hypocritical tyrants; for a lewd woman who lives in a virtuous family, and yet maintains an illicit correspondence with men, certainly disgraces the whole family; and a stranger would suppose, and very justly, that the family that would wink at, or allow such proceedings, were all whores and rogues, equally as bad as the delinquent. It is certain the State governments of the South, are nourishing evils that will eventually sap the foundations of their Constitutions, and prove their downfall. A Folio volume would not contain even a specimen of those evils, which are the spontaneous offspring of slavery. It destroys social

intercourse, by exalting one part of society to demagods, and degrading the other part to brutes. It encourages and produces in one part indolence, dissipation, sensuality, duplicity, imbecility, effeminacy, and a train of concomitant evils, too tedious to enumerate ; and in the other, wretchedness, misery, despondency, starvation, degradation, contamination, the art of deception and all manner of depravity. The fact is, slaveholders are not only pests to society themselves, but render their slaves destructive nuisances. Every person must allow this, who allows that industry is the very nerves of a free nation and idleness its bane ; consequently whatever system encourages indolence, and at the same time discourages industry (for it is well known that white persons who work in the South, are despised by their idle dissipated neighbours) proves a prelude to the ruin of the state or government where it is supported. But slavery destroys all sense of moral rectitude and natural justice, for those who are instructed from their infancy, to consider negroes as their property, without rights or privileges, must be prone to consider poor white peo-

ple; especially if they are very much tanned by the sun, or if they are Spaniards or Portuguese, in the same point of view. Those who think it no sin to rob and enslave a black, a mulatto, or even a mustee; cannot think it a sin to do so to a poor white person. In short, it is "the fear not the love of either God or man, which precludes slave-traders from enslaving poor white people as well as black."* Another evil attending slavery is, it eventually destroys chastity in females, by putting a great number of them in the power, and subjecting them to the will of the males. The evils resulting from this, are incalculable, as well as complicated, and are of such an indelicate nature that I must pass them with an astonished silence, which will leave room for the readers imagination to depict, what would be imprudent for me to recapitulate or particularize. From these circumstances, and many others more glaring and tragical which might be adduced, if the bravity of our plan would permit us to notify them: it will appear self evident that

* See my Preliminary Essay on this subject, page-232.

keeping enslaved Africans in the South, is as impolitic as it is unjust: and it is more impolitic (I positively contend) to keep hundreds of thousands of free Africans in the bowels of the Northern States.

In order to make this proposition plain to every candid mind. We will suppose one hundred thousand of the friends and zealous votaries of king's, and kingly governments, or absolute monarchy, were to emigrate from Europe and land in the State of Pennsylvania, at one and the same time, would it not be wretched policy for the state government to receive them immediately as citizens, bestow upon them the rights of suffrage. &c:

“ The policy of admitting foreigners, at any time, to all the rights and privileges of citizens, has been questioned by the most enlightened statesmen among us. - Reasons drawn from the nature of the case, and the experience and municipal laws of other nations furnish a strong ground for those to stand upon, who advocate a permanent exclusion of aliens from office. Our own history also supplies us with arguments on this head, which if party considerations were excluded, could not be disregarded.

The reasons drawn from the nature of the case have been so often repeated, that they are familiar to every body. Every independent state, constitutes a separate and distinct society, which has a right to establish such laws as it shall deem best adapted to promote and secure its own interests. When this society is once formed, it has a right to prescribe the terms upon which others shall be admitted into it; and if it should think proper not to admit them, upon any terms to a full enjoyment of the privileges of its own members, those who may be thus excluded have no possible right to complain. It is readily granted that nations are not exempt from the obligations of humanity, any more than individuals; but the duties then arising, must in both cases be so modified as not to interfere with the prior and more important duties which they owe to themselves. Nations, no less than individuals, are bound by reason and the positive laws of God, to seek their own preservation, in preference to that of any other nation, or of any individual.—The rights of hospitality are unquestionably due to all; these are protection in certain cases,

and a supply of what is necessary for the support of life; more than these no nation is bound to bestow, nor any individual has a right to demand.

As to the impolicy of precipitately admitting foreigners to all the privileges of citizens, there is scarcely a supposeable case in which there are well founded objections against it, when considered as a general indulgence.

Every nation which has existed for any length of time, has its own manners, its particular habits of thinking, its prejudices and its partialities. These constitute its national character; and its government will always be conformed to them, either in its first establishment or by subsequent alterations. The subjects of an absolute monarchy, whether they approve of that kind of government or not, are, generally speaking not likely to be contented under a government like ours. If they approve of it they must of course be dissatisfied under ours; and if they were induced to emigrate by oppressions which they suffered in their own country; they will nineteen times out of twenty, have imbibed notions which border upon licentiousness. Of this our own experience has

furnished us with proofs which we cannot overlook: (witness the thousands of tories yet amongst us) and with lessons by which we ought to profit. To vibrate from one extreme to its opposite, is a settled law more regular, perhaps with mechanical powers, but not more certain, than with the operations of the human mind.

To guard against the danger to be apprehended from foreigners, if they were allowed to gain a permanent residence in the country, the laws of England not only exclude them from all offices, even the lowest, but they prohibit them from acquiring any property in lands, either by purchase, gift, or inheritance. This is extending the prohibition further than the interest of this country at present requires. But if there is any solid objection against the admission of foreigners to office in England, there is nothing in the construction of our government which removes the objection or diminishes its force. The laws of England also prohibit the introduction of blacks there."

But the impolicy of such measures would be enhanced, if we knew that they would subvert the government the first con-

venient opportunity. The policy of admitting Africans (who are, and indeed must be in their hearts enemies to the government that authorises their subjugation) to the rights and privileges of citizens, is not only obnoxious to the judgment and principles of all the advocates of slavery, but also a very large majority of the advocates for the emancipation of slaves: and if my plan was adopted, the emancipation might be almost instantaneously realized. If the slaves were sent to that fertile country Louisiana, the climate of which is particularly congenial to their natures. I am confident not only thousands in the South, but numbers of Africans in these states would rejoice if my plan was adopted by congress, or one similar to it instituted.

There is no doubt with me, but that on such an event, the land which is now and will be a wilderness for hundreds of years, would be metamorphosed to a terrestrial paradise; for the slaves of the South, would do more work for themselves and their families in one day, than for their tyrants in three. But, in order to ascertain the validity of the arguments in favour of liberating the

Africans of the South, and manufacturing them into citizens of the North, or rather to prove the inconsistency of them to their authors and supporters, and that in the most simple manner; that the most illiterate may understand me as well as the scientific. Indeed it is particularly for the information of the former, (with the honest farmer and industrious machanic, who are the support and pillars of our constitution) and not the latter, that I make these observations, on a subject so intimately connected with their interests, the prosperity, and even political existence of the nation, for it is my candid belief the majority of the great, and the honorable, care not how many slaves there are, especially the advocates of aristocracy. But, to shew the inconsistency, as well as impolicy of the antecedent plan, I would simply ask its author and advocates, were their plan to be adopted, not partially, but efficaciously, were the 900,000 slaves in the South, with 300,000 or perhaps 400,000 free Africans, and people of color in the North, to be received after previous cultivation, as free independent citizens of the United States, with rights of suffrage, &c.

conferred upon them, would thee be perfectly satisfied on such an event, for a negro to be elected President of the United States, or a Governor of thy individual State, or a Senator, or even thy Representative to be a black person, probably some, though their number must be few will even answer in the affirmative to this interrogation. I would again ask such : would thee be very contented for to have a negro for thy daughters husband, a negress for thy sons wife, and in short have them assimilated into thy family as well as the general and state governments, and methinks I hear a negative answer to this question, but with this addition that a participation might take place in a political, without taking place in a domestic point of view. I answer to this assertion, it is utterly impossible! "well but," says the advocates for this plan "thee knows there are many ordinary white persons that would be satisfied to associate domestically as well as politically with the blacks," I would ask in return, and how dost thou know, but these may be thy own children, when thou art mouldering to thy dust in thy silent grave, they may degenerate, they may be infatua-

ted and contaminated with blacks, as well as others. Indeed there is such a train of evils attending such a plan, that I cannot see the end of them. I have made these queries on the supposition, that the blacks on being thus metamorphised, would continue respectable, and peaceable citizens: which any body, that can see as far as the end of his nose, must foresee would not be the case; for as sure as Africans are exalted to a participation of the privileges of citizens, political and social, so sure the tragical scene acted in Hispaniola will be reacted in America. Indeed it would be a phenomenon in nature if it was not the case. On such an event one must conclude they were without memory or as forgiving as St. Stephen, and holy as St. Paul was, which experience proves upon ocular demonstration not to be the case, and indeed it is unreasonable to expect it to be so, while men are degenerate, and are blessed with minds and memories. While this is the case, the children of Africans to the end of time must reflect with disgust on our conduct, and the sufferings and wrongs of their ancestors. But as speculative reasoning is not so convincing as facts, though

particularized in a desultory manner, we will insert a few to consolodate our arguments.

And first, when slaves elope from the South, and escape to the North, as their general rendezvouse, or assylum; or when a slave holder gets tired of his superanuated slaves, and wants to get rid of them, and so sends them to the North. On they come with all the accumulated depravity which they have been long accustomed to; such as lying, pilfering, stealing, swearing, deceit, and a thousand meaner vices, the fruits of slavery. When they arrive, they almost generally abandon themselves to all manner of debauchery and dissipation, to the great annoyance of many of our citizens. Indeed the depredations many of them commit on society, is too tragical to mention. The recent catastrophe respecting the white girl of nine years of age, who was violated by a black man that is now in the work-house, for it, may be included in this number.* In

* Six weeks prior to the above event, this monster was liberated from prison. He enticed the child to a sequestered part of the commons, and abused her in such a manner, that she did not long survive the injury, according to the in-

the winter they are a public charge, and in the summer they spend in debauchery all their earning. Last winter several hundreds would have perished in this city, had it not been for the liberality of the citizens; who made a large subscription for the support of the poor: thus the citizens of Philadelphia have to pay taxes every year, for the support of those, the injustice of others have ruined. I make these observations not because I begrudge them support, for I help to administer to their necessities myself; but rather to prove the necessity of adopting my plan, for their happiness and support; if it was adopted, the means of their being contaminated would stop, and then, and not till then, the effects will cease. Hence it will appear that

formation I received from one of the keepers of the prison, where the delinquent is now confined. I have heard myself of different instances of Black men attempting, and often succeeding in the attempt to violate white women. Instances of this nature occurs, perhaps one hundred times in the Northern, for once in the Southern States: and indeed some white women, who have been so far fascinated as to marry negroes have alledged, when they could not succeed in gaining their consent by solicitation, they have given them secretly libations, by which they have been completely infatuated, some of which have been women of genteel connections.

our political body is labouring under a deleterious disease, and cogent measures are necessary, and the most skilful political physicians should exert their utmost skill to adopt some remedies, to prescribe some antidote to cure this disease, before it becomes incurable, which will inevitably be the case without a speedy remedy : and as it is better for a man that has a mortified leg to have it cut off, than to let it continue till it destroys his life : so with respect to government it is better for them to make some partial sacrifices of a pecuniary nature, than in the end to be subverted. But there are other evils still more injurious to the citizens of the North, than even what I have advanced. There are many, very many blacks, who are born free, or imported, begin to feel themselves consequential, which indeed is very natural, for the haughtiest people in the world, are up-start gentlemen. I say many of these black persons, though ever so poor, in an intellectual, moral, and pecuniary point of view, will not be satisfied unless they get white women for wives, and are likewise exceedingly impertinent to white people in low

circumstances; * incomparably more so than in the Southern states or West-India islands. This has caused, and no doubt will cause much disturbance and riots, and many of those blacks who have accumulated some property, are as aspiring and imperious, and look with as much contempt on poor white people; as the aristocracy of Spain, or the nobility of England; and this which many of my fellow citizens have daily opportunities to prove demonstratively, is in miniture what it would be in magitude, if the anticedant plan was in full operation. But in order farther to shew the impolicy of that plan, it is self-evident that it has a direct tendency to discourage emigrants from Europe, who seek, or wish to seek an assylum in our country, from the despotism peculiar to the old world; and every body knows, that knows any thing, that to prevent population, is to rob the public treasury; debi-

* All the Blacks are by no means included in my animadversions; there are many of them in the States, (some of which I know myself) who are men of information and respectability, but I must add, men who are naturally aspiring to gain an ascendancy over their fellows, something like his negro majesty, the emperor Dessalines.

litate the nerves of the nation, and thus impoverish our finances. And indeed there has been some respectable families, and many labourers (though poor white people) have been necessitated to leave their abodes, and some the place of their nativity to seek employ in the back woods (where according to my plan the blacks should go, rather than the laborious whites, which are our support in peace, and defence in war) as hundreds are employed by a particular class of people who profess to be friends to the blacks (tho' none of them wishes their prosperity more than I do, which my antecedent publications in their behalf, as well as the pecuniary sacrifices I have made on their account, will abundantly demonstrate) in preference to poor reputable whites. I greatly admire the liberality and generosity of those people, who thus feel for the oppressed, and administer to their necessities; but my veneration for them, and admiration of them, does not alter my judgment with respect to the impolicy of their plan, which though it exonerates the moral evils peculiar to slavery, retains all the natural; for though there was no moral evil in the Trojans receiving the Gre-

cians Wooden Horse, still it was big with their final destruction ; and though there was no harm in Sisera seeking for shelter under Jaels roof, yet it cost him his life, and thousands of instances might be adduced of the same nature.

It may be proved with mathamatical certainty, that if the anterior plan operates, even as it has done for years back, all our progeny will be a mixture of mungrels and mulattoes in another century. I have visited different part of Africa, South America, the chief of the West India islands, and the Southern states ; and I solemnly declare, I have seen more white women married to, and deluded through the arts of seduction by negroes in one year in Philadelphia, than for the eight years, I was visiting the above places. This is not the case in the South, but only in the North. In the former place, they are allowed too little liberties, in the latter place too much. There are perhaps hundreds of white women, thus facinated by black men in this city, and there are thousands of black children by them at present, and what must it be at the future. There is one particular cause I assign for this

weakness in white women, (for it is not wickedness) though the women that do it, are the scorn both of white and black persons, and they always lose their shame with their virtue, before they thus abandon themselves to disgrace. Many respectable citizens who are reduced in temporalities; on their decease their poor orphans are bound out in gentlemen's houses, where the maid servants are generally white, and the men servants black, and their employers allow the blacks as much liberties as they think proper to take; and no distinction is made between the white girls, and black men, and negres's and white women frequently sleep together. The poor though reputable white child is thrown by her unfeeling master and mistress in the road to ruin. Instead of protecting the poor orphan (the brutal wretches) put her in the power of black people. Hence she loses all sense of propriety: being degraded she soon becomes an easy primature prey.

This is very frequently the case, which people who reside in Philadelphia know to be so. I know a black man who seduced a young white girl in this manner, who soon after married him, and died with a broken

heart; on her death he said he would not disgrace himself to have a negro wife, and acted accordingly, for he soon after married another white woman.

I was informed some time past by a coloured woman (who by the by) called upon me, to get me, to write a letter to her former employer, a quaker gentleman, respecting a Guinea negro who seduced his poor bound girl seventeen years of age, who was pregnant by him. She also, informed me that the night before she left her aforesaid employers house, the young girl first revealed the secret to her in bed (for as is usually the case with these rich people, who never think that their own children may be reduced to dependence,) they made the poor girl not only eat and drink, but sleep with black people. I feel irritated at such savage unfeeling conduct in the wretch who grinds the face of the orphan, and such as have no helper.

But this is only a small specimen of the injurious effects the aforesaid plan is naturally calculated to produce; and many grand evils fall upon the blacks, as well as the poor white people, having the means of being cor-

rupted in their power, which would not be the case if my plan was adopted. There are hundreds as wretched in Philadelphia, and more so in the winter time, than slaves in the West Indies. No person can conceive the wretchedness they exhibit in the environs of this city, while the work-house and bettering-house are crowded with them. These are stubborn facts, which cannot be contradicted, and which alone is sufficient to prove the utility of my plan.

According to the prefixed table, our national domains are eight hundred and thirty millions of acres,* and surely our federal government will not hesitate to appropriate a small portion of this idle land, to so excellent a purpose, pregnant with blessings to poor white people, as well as the blacks: for in this city (on account of so many negroes being in it, who are employed in preference to white people) some hundreds of poor families are suffering for the necessities of life and without employ. I am confident if my plan was adopted and set on foot, thou-

* See Blodget's Table, page 4.

sands of free negroes who are idle for want of work, and starving with hunger, would rejoice to have an opportunity to possess some property which would stimulate to industry ; and many a virtuous planter would be enticed to liberate his slaves, which he could do under such favourable auspices ; and in this city in one week fifty thousand dollars might be collected to accommodate the blacks and enable them to clear and cultivate their own plantations. To suppose the negroes would not accept such an offer (especially if they were under the protection of the general government, for then none dare interrupt them in their agricultural pursuits) is supposing that they have not even common sense. It is an offer thousands of poor peasants in Germany and Ireland would rejoice to hear of. I have laid down my pen to consider if there can be any barrier to preclude the practical operation of my plan, and I now take it up to affirm, I cannot recognize any : if there is, the wisdom, and political sagacity of the citizens of the North, and their Representatives, will no doubt obviate them, and I hope on a subject so momentous, some abler and older

writer will take up his pen, or enlarge upon these strictures, which are neither corrected, revised, or even transcribed. As it is for the information of plebians I write, I am not particular in my style, and arrangement, for the more simple, so much the more they will be comprehended by the illiterate, and as for judicious critics, I flatter myself they will consider these desultory strictures far beneath their notice

But I would wish to dwell a little farther on a subject already partially anticipated, it is this: I always thought and still I am of the same opinion, that America was appropriated by the Lord of the universe to be an asylum for the oppressed, the injured sons of Europe, whose hapless case, he that is, was, and ever will be great in goodness, and good in greatness, pities and will forever pity. Our country is extensive, and we all know that in the increase of our population, our strength, as well as our riches consists. To encourage the sons of Europe, groaning, starving, and dying under the frowns of despotism, to come and settle among us, forego their chains, and anticipate peace and plenty, politically and socially: policy as well

philanthropy suggest it to be our indispensable duty. The hardy Irish, and laborious Germans, flying from European bondage and settling amongst us is vastly advantageous, and should be greatly encouraged; and what encourages them so much as the prospect of a hearty welcome, as well as protection in their persons and properties. But how must it damp their spirits when they come and have to associate with negroes, take them for companions, and what is much worse, be thrown out of work and precluded from getting employ to keep vacancies for blacks. These will naturally write to their connections in Europe of the degraded state of poor white people in this country, and will finally hinder them from emigrating, and of course preclude population; and this will be considered as a serious injury when we have now millions of idle land, the most rich and fertile in the union, as national domains.

The impolicy, the inconsistency of such measures are so palpable and notorious, that I think no person can help seeing them, especially if he remembers all our military land forces, consist in our militia, and not a black man in the union lifts even a cooks-spit to help to

defend our liberties, (indeed this is an excellent piece of policy not to permit them to bear arms) consequently they are both exonerated from paying militia fines as well as taxes, and hence they are no assistance either in a pecuniary or personal point of view.

While in Philadelphia alone many thousands of them reside, more are daily arriving, and if their emigration, through the influence of certain white men, and their propagation through the medium of white women, intermarrying with black men is not retarded, in the course of a few years half the inhabitants of the city will be people of colour; this will positively be the case, if we may judge of the future by the past. And on such an event, how unjust and ungenerous will it be for the one half of the inhabitants of the metropolis to do militia duty, or pay equivalent fines, and pay periodical taxes while the other half are to all intents and purposes exempted from every such burthen. But in order to exhibit the grievances such impolitic measures are to the poor white people in the North: every poor man whether he is a cobbler, a tinker, or a taylor, or a manual labourer, or even a beggar, if a

white person must pay annually taxes for the support of the poor of the city, and pump and paving taxes, though the blacks are as much entitled to the pumps and pavements as the whites: now, great part of these taxes that poor white people have to pay, goes to support poor black persons who do not pay a farthing of taxes: this is not the case with the slaves in the South, their proprietors have to account for them. Then how grievous it must be for those virtuous persons in the North, who have no slaves to suffer on account of those imported from the South, while those who reap the profit are exonerated from the expenses.

These are only a few of the evils consequent on slavery in our free country, especially to the citizens of the North. Another evil of considerable magnitude is, the impolicy of the citizens of the North, nourishing in the bowels of their respective states, thousands and tens of thousands of well informed persons, who they are afraid to trust with arms, to defend their respective governments in case of invasion or innovation from any quarter. Surely if an opportunity offered, for them to become on an

equality or even superior to the whites, they might easily find arms: witness the United Irishmen, in the late rebellion in Ireland, though they were all searched for offensive or defensive weapons, and all were taken that could be secured; yet they found means to procure a sufficient quantity to arm forty thousand men. Again, admitting the Africans were exceedingly friendly to the whites, and our government, yet by the œconomy of nature it is known, and by the case of a man that is jealous of his wife, without a cause, it is proved, that suspecting persons is a formidable incentive to them to do the things they are suspected of, especially if they are advantageous and opportunity serves; for as the old saying, "they may as well have the game as the blame:" hence keeping so many black men in the Northern states, who are better informed in a military, political, and social point of view, than any other of their color in the world, is the absurdest as well as the most destructive policy, especially when we tell them by our actions, which more than speak, that we are afraid to trust them with arms to defend the nation, lest they turn traitors; and in

so doing, we tempt them if they were ever so honest to realize our fears and suspicions. But in fact, their becoming what we suspect them of are circumstances, obvious to every discerning mind, and call loudly for a remedy, at least, a close investigation. These impolitic measures, are not transacted in a corner ; our representatives, who, I hope have the prosperity of their constituents at heart, are, and indeed must be convinced of the validity and authenticity of my arguments, and they will be apprized of the necessity of warding off a threatening blow, as well as preparing to meet every difficulty. For farther and more sonorous arguments, to enforce my hypothesis and demonstrate the duplicity of the citizens of the South, and the impolicy of the citizens of the North, I would refer my readers to my "tragic poem in six books." But there is another thought strikes my mind, particularly applicable to my antecedent reasoning, and which I will beg leave to particularize, though I have already exceeded the limits I originally prescribed to myself, it is this ; that admitting all the blacks in the United States were on an equality with the whites,

in every sense of the word (and nothing less I am confident will satisfy them though the majority of their friends, as well as all their enemies, would oppose with their lives and fortunes, such an equality.) Yet then, even then, common sense will demonstrate, the dangerous consequences in case of a misunderstanding between the colors, which local circumstances will make unavoidable.

But, in order to prove this in a clearer point of view, and to accommodate my ideas to the most vulgar capacity, I will relate in his own words, an adventure that happened to an old Cocker, as honest a hearted fellow as ever soled a pair of shoes.

“ One night” says he, “ as I was returning home from a friends house, where I had spent a very agreeable evening, I heard a dreadful bustle in a house on the roadside—I stood on the step, paused, and would have gone on ; but the wine I had pretty freely drank at my friend’s, heightened my natural courage—in I rushed, and to my great surprize found the husband crushed up in a corner, and the wife banging him with a good cudgel ; I immediately laid hold of the woman, twisted the staff,

out of her hand, and for my kindness received a stout box on the ear ; as she made a second blow, I took hold of her hands, upon which her husband recovering himself, came at me with the tongs—I ran for my life, and after receiving three or four stout blows on my head and back, my cloathes torn, and my face all scratched, I made a shift to scramble away with my life. Next morning I took one of my neighbours along with me, and went out to the house ; we found them both within—I asked him why he used me so, when I was so serviceable to him?—Why friend, do you see, said he, my wife and I had a bustle—that’s true enough—she beat me—and what of it?—she is my wife still—and may I never, said he, be smiled upon by a woman, if I would not beat any man, aye the parson of the parish, if he would but lay his finger on her—What ? said I, though she was flogging you ? yes, says he, though she was flogging me ; and I tell you again, though she was, she’s my wife still ; and as loving a good natured creature too as ever lay by a man’s side.” Thus, nothing is more certain, than that the blacks, however they may dis-

agree among themselves, will be unanimous in their hostility against the whites, even admitting our intentions were pure, and our exertions indefatigable for their benefit.

It will, I hope, be superfluous for me to enlarge any farther on a topic so obvious to every capacity. Therefore, what farther might be said in vindication of my premature plan, may easily be anticipated by the reader of discernment. No plan have I ever seen of a similar nature, and I sincerely hope, that those who are empowered, will use their influence to have it, or one somewhat similar, constituted for the aforesaid purpose; and if some exertions are made for to remedy these radical evils, particularly an appropriation of a certain number of acres of land, as a colony or state, exclusively for the use of the Blacks, and those white persons who wish to be manufactured to black, and who wish to associate with the negroes: and I conceive, that the General Government should by all means appoint a Governor, and officers of Government, not of white or mulatto, but exclusively of black people; so that, as I have already said “if white people love to associate, and emigrate with them, that they also may be governed by them.

I will again repeat, though it may verge on repetition, that the general Government cannot with any degree of propriety (except there is some barrier, or impediment, that I am unacquainted with) hesitate to appropriate a few hundred thousand acres of land, for this laudable purpose, which is pregnant with the happiness of so many poor white families, who are at present, in a starving condition, on account of the number of blacks in the Northern States, as well as contentment and happiness of the blacks themselves, for they are not, and indeed never can be contented, while they are restrained from enjoying the full privileges of citizens among the whites; and indeed we would be as discontented as they are, if we were in their predicament, and perhaps a great deal more so. My arguments and animadversions do not, by any means, militate against the blacks as natural men, and though I do not doubt, but my plan will be execrated by many, who are real philanthropists, and who I really admire for their disinterested generosity, yet if these very characters, will but dispassionately, and candidly investigate the subject matter of these re-

monstrances, and at the same time ask their own hearts, a few delicate, interesting questions, they would no doubt see the authenticity, and feel the validity of my arguments relative to the happiness of the poor white, and poor black people. Let any of the respectable citizens of Philadelphia, survey the suburbs of their city, and recognize the wretchedness indiscriminately among the poor blacks and whites, and they will, I am confident, concur with me in my sentiments on this subject.

There are many evils attending slavery : the worst of these evils, the citizens of the North have to bear, who suffer no slavery in their territories, and of consequence reap no benefit from the same, and it is *via versa* as it respects the citizens of the South. I have repeated this sentiment at different times (I humbly beg my readers will pardon the totology) in order to expose it more fully as it is in my estimation (if possible) more unjust and ungenerous than the aristocracy of Europe. It should be then our special business to erradicate the natural, as well as the moral evils incedent to slavery ; and the only possible way to do this

is to provide some convenient way for their accommodation, free from our population. Unless we do something of this nature, we nurture* the natural, while we exonerate the moral evils of slavery. Like a man in the wilderness who is surrounded by briars, thorns, and wood-land monsters, except at one small foot path which leads out of the wilderness: if he does not escape by this path, the night will overtake him, and he will be devoured by the savages of the forest. Thus if we do not use this judicious and benevolent plan, to facilitate the emancipation of slaves in the South, and for the accommodation of the blacks in the North, they will prove our overthrow in the end, then there will be no remedy, and indeed none can blame them. We would do the same ourselves if we were in their abject condition; thus there are evils on all hands,

* Indeed I think people must be judicially infatuated, not to foresee these evils, particularly as it respects the Northern States, who are in far more eminent danger than the Southern: the reason is obvious, while the slaves in the South are kept in great subordination, those in the North, can do as they please, and their conduct in many instances prove that the more liberties you give them, the more they seek for.

and we should chuse the least, and we are (not the negroes) the original cause of all these evils. We have brought millions of Africans into this wretched state, and shall we not endeavour as far as practicable, to hinder as much as possible their further degradation, and subjugation, and by what means can this be done better than by presenting them by way of compensation, for what we have violently bereaved them and their forefathers of, several hundred thousand acres of our idle land for their inheritance, and then we may look for a general emancipation as soon as possible, as their will be no barrier in the way. Let therefore, each citizen, and representative of our states, be sensible of the danger and evil consequences of their antecedent measures, and persist in them no longer. If government does not adopt some cogent measure, in this intrinsically momentous subject, we need not look for stability or consistency in individuals. Congress must organize some paramount principle, superior to sentimental prejudices or local prepossessions, otherwise the opinions, humours, passions, and

interest of different individuals (and I may add state legislatures*) will be continually

* From a multiplicity of documents, which might be exhibited to consolidate our arguments, the following PETITION is selected from a newspaper I lately perused, which is truly interesting; and which is circulating in several counties of this state, and as it is of the most important nature, we deem it our duty to give it all the publicity in our power.

*To the honourable the legislative council and general assembly
of the state of New Jersey.*

The petition of the Subscribers, inhabitants of the
County of

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

“ That much injustice and iniquity is worked by the third section of the act entitled “ An act for the gradual Abolition of slavery,” inasmuch as those who have never owned nor been profited by the labor of slaves, are obliged to pay for maintaining the children of Slaves owned by, and laboring for others—That it is becoming a common and increasing practice in this country for slave-holders to abandon the children of their slaves under the above section of the Abolition Law, and then to receive from the Treasury for supporting those children three dollars per month or thirty six dollars per year, which by the time those children arrive at the age of eight years will amount to TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-TWO DOLLARS which the slaveholder will draw from the public treasury for every child so abandoned! that at this rate a very heavy tax will annually be paid by the state to men who have always enjoyed the benefit and grown rich by the labor of Slaves, which must

fluctuating. I must then repeat, that to dictate the most eligible ways and means, to remedy those gigantic evils, and to accomplish the object I have in view in these remonstrances, so as shall best consist with the public interest is the duty, and should be the special object of the ensuing session of congress. To illustrate my subject, I will compare slavery to a large tree planted in the south, whose spreading branches extends to the North; the poisonous fruit of that tree when ripe fall upon these states, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, and contamination of the land which is sacred to liberty. Wherefore, I conceive it is better if we cannot cut down the tree to lopp off the branches that drop their untimely fruit in our states, and

be mostly drawn from those who never owned any Slaves nor received any advantage from Slavery, but earned their own bread by the sweat of their brows. Your petitioners therefore pray that your Honorable bodies will pass a law repealing the section complained of, which will remedy this great and growing evil, release the public from a tax, which threatens soon to be heavier than all the other taxes together and leave the children of Slaves to be maintained by those who in honour and justice are bound to maintain them, the owners of such Slaves.....And your petitioners, &c.

transport them in a land more congenial to themselves, where they may grow and flourish without annoying any person, and become in process of time as in Africa, a flourishing tree which may be beneficial to the union in a commercial, and agricultural point of view.

Emancipation on such a plan would be an honor and blessing to the nation, and a real advantage to the blacks in point of contentment, wealth, and the education of their children. The citizens of the new state, instead of picking bones in gentlemen's kitchens would imbibe a noble spirit, learn a habit of managing business, and not being strangers to agricultural pursuits, they would be a great acquisition to our mercantile interests; they would feel an ambition to be versed in politics; they could in most instances be their own defenders, and wherein they fall short, the federal government should supply the deficiency, and be a protector as well as a director: for no possible fears could be harboured of their being an enemy under these circumstances: thus the country that cost us so much money would in this respect amply repay us with usury; it would improve by their industry,

agriculture would flourish, and in time of war, they would not be a terror, but if called upon would be the strength and defence of the United States. This plan if properly digested, is so agreeable to the honest dictates of conscience, as well as the growing sentiments of thousands, and of even some of the slave holders themselves, that I apprehend it would meet with little opposition, but rather unanimous concurrence. Here I, for the present, rest my arguments, and my readers may anticipate themselves sentiments connected with this subject, which it would be impolitic for me to describe.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTER.

WHEN I began to write the prefixed remonstrances, I intended to have compressed them to about one dozen pages ; but the farther I proceeded in the discussion of the subject, the more interesting it appeared. Of interested or mercenary motives, I can hardly be suspected : I feel the highest satisfaction in the testimony of my conscience, that I write neither for the transitory gain, or fluctuating praise of a sublunary world. Indeed, I would very willingly relinquish both the one and the other, in favour of the person, who would take upon him the censures of the illiberal critic, and the animadversions of the unrelenting despot. If I know any thing of my own heart, I can with integrity declare my ultimate aim in this performance, as well as my other publications, is to promote the happiness of my fellow creatures, and the glory of my crea-

tor. As I conceived there would be much opposition to the adoption and practical operation of my premature plan, as it will no doubt be in open hostility to the long standing prejudices of a majority of my fellow citizens. After closing the prefixed remonstrances, wherein my ideas on the subject are so curtailed, as merely to exhibit a sketch of speculative reasoning, which I apprehend is sufficient to convince men of discernment, of the utility and salutary tendency of my plan. I resolved, for the information of those who may be inclined to investigate my arguments farther, and whose relative avocations will permit them to examine the subject more minutely, as well as such as doubt the propriety of it. I say for their farther information, I resolved to subjoin a miscellaneous chapter, with a few more desultory strictures, to authenticate as well as consolidate my hypothesis, and to prevent the interruption of the preceding propositions, which were carefully compressed, in order to suit the time and cast of such, as are not able, or rather unwilling to appropriate much of their time, to the investigation of such topics; while the antecedent compen-

dious strictures, are accommodated to the time of characters distinguished for their political pursuits, and scientific researches. I conceive the accommodation of persons of an opposite description, should likewise be attended to, especially as the subject of our investigation is peculiarly interesting to them. Wherefore, in order that they may gain a more clear and perfect idea of the utility of my plan, from the most simplified reasoning, we will suppose, for the sake of illustration, that there are at present, only ten thousand negroes and people of color in Philadelphia, five thousand of them emigrate to a distant part of our Union, which is peculiar for the fertility of the soil, exuberancy of the vegetation, picturesque appearances of the rural works of nature, unadorned with art, the serenity of the air, and the tranquility of the atmosphere, where the rivers and lakes abound with the most excellent fish, the wood-land with valuable game, and even the forests with spontaneous fruit. On their arrival at this terrestrial paradise, we may easily suppose what is their first employment and enjoyment, by taking a retrospective view of the first settlers of our

country. It is in short, society and sociability, industry with reciprocal intercourse. The situation of the five thousand emigrants, and the five thousand that remain, will be as different as light and darkness, their objects and their pursuits will be different; those in the city will be strangers to social intercourse* except with a few friends and acquaintances: the emigrants will be particularly cemented in the bonds of reciprocal sociability, nature will bind them together in one day, and art cannot separate them, for years at least. Society will be their individual object, because it will facilitate their individual accommodation, for there are many motives, which will stimulate them irresistibly to social intercourse. For instance, one man, though with an axe, he might cut down a sufficiency of timber to build him an house, he neither could remove it, or erect it to one, without the concurring assistance of his neighbours. A number of per-

* It often happens, that next door neighbours in this city, are such strangers to social intercourse, as not to speak to one another for years, especially if one is rich and the other poor.

sons in two or three days, might easily erect a very comfortable dwelling for a family; whereas one man might labour for years, without accomplishing this. In sickness, he would feel the want of a friend or society, to receive their exhilarating comforts, and in health, gratitude would bind him to that society; and if gratitude would not bind him, self-preservation undoubtedly would. Thus necessity (which is the mother of invention, according to the old proverb) like a gravitating power would cement the members of the infant colony together. Each individual, would not only be intimately and affectionately acquainted with his neighbour, but would be equally so with every member of the colony; and this would stimulate the virtuous emigrant to be more virtuous, and the vicious to be less vicious, in as much as their conduct would meet either with approbation or execration, according to the merit or demerit of it. But it must be allowed, that in the first settlement of the Colony, many hardships and inconveniences must be endured: Yet, according as the first difficulties of emigration is surmounted, the blessings of competency

and social intercourse will be appreciated: accordingly as they facilitate in industry and attachment to each other, which local circumstances will abundantly accelerate. Hence, after a few years, each individual of the Colony will have a little convenient plantation cleared and cultivated, where he may sit, under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid, especially if under the protection of the General Government. He will of course enhance his enjoyments according to his own industry, not only in the cultivation of his land, but also in raising the stock peculiar to a farm, and every year, would augment his riches and the value of his property. Thus, by his industry he would not only make genteel provision for the support of his children, but would also assist in replenishing the national finances; for in my opinion, one industrious farmer is of more benefit to a nation, than a standing army of one hundred thousand strong.

These are only a few of the blessings consequent on the adoption, and practical operation of my plan. Now, for the sake of illustration, we will contrast the relative situation of these colonists, with the condi-

tion of the five thousand, who remained in the city ; and in advancing these speculative hypothesis I collect my ideas from the nature of things, and I defy art to overturn them. But I need not expatiate on this proposition, any of my fellow citizens by common observations and daily remarks, may ascertain the wretched condition of such. One out of every thousand may acquire by fraud or force independent fortunes : five out of each five hundred accumulate sufficient property to secure a competency ; fifty out of each hundred will be employed by gentlemen for coach-men, foot-men, &c. The rest, at least a majority of them, will become pests to society, live in idleness, wretchedness and dissipation. They are ruled by a government in which they do not participate as candidates ; they live among a people that can in general have but little confidence in them, and in many particulars, despise them and treat them with contempt, for even their best friends are ashamed to associate with them, and will not eat, drink, or sleep, with them, though by the by they are not ashamed to make their poor hirelings do so, or else discharge them.

from their employ, and particularly their poor bound girls, unhappy orphans, who have none to see them justified. Indeed it is a stubborn fact, that there are more bound and hired white girls in rich mens houses, deluded by black men, than any where else. If I was to give an account of instances which have come to my own knowledge, to authenticate and demonstrate the assertion, it would make my readers shudder, yea, it has frequently happened, that negroes have forcibly violated white girls, and certain white men, have attempted to screen them from the penalty the law demanded. But as it is not my design nor wish, to exhibit the horrid depredations, rapes, assassinations, robberies, thefts, &c. committed by the negroes after their arrival in the cities of the North, from the tobacco and rice plantations of the South, no farther than to prove the utility laudability, and propriety of my plan, I will drop this disagreeable part of the subject, which almost irritates me when I think upon it, especially when I remember the inconceivable injury many an honest citizen's child meets with after his decease, when the poor orphan is sent to a

gentlemans kitchen as a place of the greatest security, especially if he professes religion. And then the rich man without the least care or concern, consigns a respectable girl* to be an associate for negroes: for my part I am of the opinion, that an honest mechanic will do more justice to such an orphan, than many of the richest people in the city. Reader, if thou art a father, look at thy little smiling daughter; and then in sympathetic thought, survey the many wicked impoverished white women, who have been deluded, and are now married to negroes, living in little smoaking huts, despised and scorned by both blacks, and whites; for it is certain, decent black people shun their company as despicable, as much as the whites. Think how it would grieve thee, to live to see that smiling child meet such a wretched fate: then be assured if matters remain as they are, their is nothing more possible, and probable; this has been the fate of many a respectable mans child.

* The boys are generally bound out to learn trades. Indeed the brutal usage many an orphan and bound child has to endure, from the caprice of their savage masters and mistresses is almost incredible.

Thus, while the negro emigrants are sitting under their own vine and fig-trees, and participating in their own government, and the administration of their own laws, the negro citizen who is comfortably accommodated and situated to day, may be destitute of a home or the necessaries of life to-morrow; his children, whether by a white or a black woman, is thrown upon the public without any prospect. For a servant often has to change places, and is frequently out of place, consequently with his small wages he cannot support a family. Yet their poverty, will not preclude the multiplication of their children; hence according to a common calculation children of color will be augmented in ten years, at least to double their present number; particularly mulattoes, as black men (being encouraged thereto by a certain description of people) will still, as heretofore, make it their chief ambition, object, and aim, to inveigle white women into the bonds of matrimony. By this means they suppose they come to a nearer similiarity with the whites; consequently the want of virtue, chastity or even sobriety, will not prove a barrier to their ambition.

But, methinks I hear some exclaim “ we all must allow a train of evils will attend the revival of the slave trade in America, sooner or later; and we measurably fell the effects of it already; but perhaps many years may elapse before the paramount evils consequent on slavery takes place; at any rate in my time there is not much danger of experiencing these dreaded consequences,” such a thought is dastardly unmanly, and execrable. Posterity would remember such ancestors with detestation, and curse their cowardice and duplicity, when they are rotting in their graves. The language of such should be nay, if we are to meet danger, we will meet it in our day, that our children may escape it; and if trouble threatens our offspring after we are dead, we will either obviate or anticipate it while we are yet living, that our children may have peace, and then we may die, at least as it respects them, with satisfaction, and consolation. There is no subject the citizens of the North can attend to, more intrinsically momentous, and interesting than the present; it not only concerns the poor, but also the rich, for many are rich one year and poor the next: riches often take wings and fly away.

The citizens of the North have been alarmed to a sense of their danger, from the infatuation of a Southern legislature, in reviving the slave trade. Let them then while their minds are agitated, give the subject a fair and impartial investigation. What benefit do we derive from receiving periodically into the bowels of our states, thousands of contaminated degenerated negroes, where they are free, though on account of their former degradation they are not fit to be members of a free community, at least for some years, subsequent to their manumission? The answer is obvious, we receive no benefit whatever, but many injuries. By slavery the citizens of the South are enriched, but those of the North are impoverished. It is the policy therefore of the former, to keep blacks amongst them, but the policy of the latter should be *via versa*.

In England, no negroes are allowed to reside, though their finances are abundantly replenished annually, by the price of their labour. In the Northern States, tens of thousands reside, to the extreme injury of the poor white people; and yet the latter are the

bulwark of the nation, while the former do not pay a cent, nor lift their little finger to support it. However our minds may be deceived by prejudice, or our ears by sound, yet these arguments are the simple offspring of truth, and reason in conjunction with common sense, will say they are just. The trust deposited in our care, is truly great ; providence has appropriated these states, as he did the city of refuge amongst the Israelites, thither the sons of Europe flee, as to an assylum from the iron hand of despotism. It is our duty therefore, to keep these secure from the attacks of internal, as well as external foes : our fathers, and our brothers in slavery in the old world, look to us for a place of refuge in the new ; but how great is their grief, astonishment, and disappointment, when on their arrival they see thousands of men, who must necessarily be their enemies, advanced on many accounts, and in many respects before them : this excites jealousy, which produces riots, &c. Now is the time to prevent an evil, that will one day fall upon us, or our children. The fate of St. Domingo declares this will be the case, in capitols that appear like sun beams.

Therefore, our safety, interest, policy, prudence, patriotism, and every weighty consideration summons us to provide ways and means, for the security of ourselves and children, and the accommodation of our oppressed brethren in Europe. This business is not the concern of a year, or an age, but it concerns millions yet unborn. Posterity are literally involved in our decision, and our great great grand children, will be more or less benefited or injured, degraded or exalted, blessed or wretched, according as we conduct ourselves in this business. If any will have the temerity to say, my anticipated danger is only the offspring of my own distempered brain, and that "when I nod, I dream of negroes in arms;" such characters I will only point to ancient history, which will give them the lie in form. "Never-fear" has proved the downfall of many nations, enslaved and impoverished many individuals, and in cases far less apparent than the present. Much has been said by benevolent men, respecting the propriety of naturalizing, as well as christianizing and civilizing the negroes; and as philanthropy was brought in to aid such sayings, it appeared on a su-

perfcial investigation amiable, but which like a pleasing dream, before the opening day, has difappeared. Such characters are attempting to bring about a change, that they would abhor themfelves, i. e. if they would impartially reflect on the merit and demerit of their propofitions. Ask them the queftions I have already fuggested, whether they would be willing to receive the blacks for governors, representatives, family connections, &c. they would answer, no doubt, with abhorrence in the negative : but, admitting they answer in the affirmative, as I have already intimated, there are other barriers in the way, which are, and ever will be impenetrable ; and if thefe barriers are broke through, the cafe will be via verfa, as it refpects the blacks and whites ; or, to ufe the language of Scripture, “ the firft will be laft, and the laft firft.” But, in order to form a correct judgment of the cafe before us, we fhould examine both fides of the queftion, and enquire ferioufly and candidly, what are the injuries the citizens of the North will fustain, by not adopting my plan, and what will be the advantages refulting to them, as well as the blacks, by adopting it.

The intelligent citizen, the man of scientific researches and profound erudition, will recognize many radical evils, and paramount blessings on such an enquiry, which the brevity of my plan, will not permit me to particularize. Indeed the most illiterate, who will investigate this subject, on the principles of reason and common sense, will immediately see what we are to expect, by nourishing amongst ourselves multitudes of natural enemies, who have opportunity to favour them, and importunity to stimulate them to daring deeds, incomparably more so, than the blacks of the South; and what we may reasonably expect from them. But, some perhaps will say, America flourished notwithstanding so many negroes amongst us, why not again? No reasoning can be more fallacious than this, to answer which, I will relate the case of a man that had a bad corn on one of his toes for many years; for want of precaution this corn grew, and for want of an early remedy it became more and more troublesome, though it did not retard him in his business: it was in other respects a potent injury to him, and as it grew larger and more painful, he was under

the necessity of using a remedy, that would have effectually cured him without the least danger, a year or two before : namely, cutting it off ; but now being too far advanced in its verulent influence, it was the cause of the mortification of his leg, which was cut off, and shortly produced his premature death : this is a fact, for I knew the person ; and this in my opinion is in minature, what the present policy of keeping thousands of blacks in our cities is in magnitude. But I will go farther and affirm, that the Northern States would have flourished far more, if there was not a negro in the Union.

I challenge the warmest advocate for the naturalization of the blacks, to show a single advantage that the citizens of the North can reap from such a change. I repeat the sentiment, not a single advantage can be derived, but what would be anticipated ten fold on the operation of my plan. Every sentiment noble and genius pleads in favour of it : the blood of millions of negroes brought to premature deaths, with the voices of their groaning, weeping, dying progeny cries, it is time to make ample provision for the children, whose parents

our avarice subjugated, and our cruelty murdered. The authority of the tyrants of the South, over their slaves, must sooner or later come to an end, and when that end comes, woe to their oppressors in the South, and their pretended friends in the North, i. e. if my plan is not adopted, or a similar one substituted in its room in time. But some will say with great assurance "if the negroes were properly informed they would become useful and respectable citizens, in a domestic, as well as political point of view ; such assertions are frequently made without a moments previous reflection. Indeed I have not only made a similar observation myself verbally, but also in writing, which I hereby acknowledge to be spurious and done without due reflection. But in order to prove this, it will be necessary to bring the doctrine for naturalizing the negroes, to the touchstone of reason and common sense, and examine it by our own natural feelings in particular, and mankind in general, from Adam to his youngest son.

For the sake of illustration, we will suppose a fleet from England arrives in the

river Delaware, comes up to Philadelphia, brings fire and sword into our city, violates our wives and daughters, slays our crying and smiling infants with impunity, plunders us of all our property and riches, and even our liberties: they force us on board of their ships, and then convey us unto England, in the same manner as we convey Africans to America. After we land, we are separated and sent to different parts of the kingdom, the inhabitants of Liverpool allow the slaves that fall to their lot all their liberty, and adopt them as citizens, while the rest of their relatives and countrymen are kept in horrid slavery. Can the persons liberated, love, honor, and faithfully serve the people, that oppress their nearest and dearest friends? It is impossible. If such a connection could be formed, it must be only on the plan of present convenience, and of consequence must not only be forced, but unnatural. But the similitude is not sufficiently sonorous to illustrate the case before us, the similarity is not sufficiently striking: but if some will say, they could in such a case forget, and so pass over all the violations they experienced themselves, and for-

give all the injuries heaped upon their friends, I would ask such characters, have your fathers, brothers, sisters, wives, and mothers been murdered and violated before your eyes with impunity, have they been robbed of their lives, their liberties, and their all, or have your ancestors for some hundreds of years, though innocent and inoffensive, been consigned to the most terrible slavery, that ever disgraced and tormented the human race, and millions of them brought thereby to untimely graves, and are millions of them still in the same wretched condition? The answer is, no doubt, in the negative: then you are not, nor indeed cannot be a correct judge in this business. But if you, and your friends and countrymen, have suffered all these accumulated and complicated evils, and yet you can cordially shake hands, and sincerely associate with your murderers and ravishers; then you forfeit your title of a patriot, are unworthy the name of relative, or even a rational being; and whatever your rank may be in the community, whether reverend or right reverend, honorable or excellency, gentleman or simple man (excuse my plainness)

you are a traitor, a coward, a sycophant in your heart, without virtue or principle, politically, religiously, domestically or morally, and if opportunity served, and importunity solicited, you would commit every horrid depredation on friends and foes, to purchase a little brief authority, affluence, or ease; and I believe there are such miscreants, demons in human form, to be found among those, who bear the honorable appellation of Christians. This is not exaggerating matters, but simply trying them by arguments as plain as a, b, c, and as clear as a ray of light, and which reason consolidates and nature justifies. I do not wish to delineate the complicated injuries we suffer, on account of harbouring such multitudes of negroes, when we do not gain a single cent by them: in order to provoke revenge against them.* I do not wish to exhibit hor-

* In order to establish our hypothesis, we have been necessitated to exhibit a specimen, and only a specimen of the degeneracy of those beings, subjugated and contaminated by modern depotism. Who are sensurable for this degeneracy. Is it the miserable oppressed? no! but the villainous oppressors: the former are to be pitied, the latter to

ror for the purpose of producing terror and dismay, but rather that we may be delivered from our long standing prejudices, fatal slumber, deleterious policy, and foolish no-

be reproached. Homer beautifully observes, that servility debases the human mind.

“ For half his senses Jove conveys away,

“ When once he dooms to see the servile day.”

Yet it often happens, that the innocent suffers instead of the delinquent, and especially in the instance before us ; to illustrate which, I would beg leave to introduce an applicable, though vulgar similitude. The Spaniards have a barbarous custom established amongst them, called “ bull beating” they generally take special care to secure the infuriated beast, after the bull dogs have maddened him ; but notwithstanding all their precaution, it sometimes happens that the bull, mad and furious, breaks from his savage tormentors, who are instantly on their guard with defensive weapons, ready either to kill or confine again their comparative innocent victim ; but the beast still runs, still flees, till meeting the ignorant and unguarded traveller he rushes on, and levels him breathless on the spot. Then invades the unconscious citizens habitations, destroys their property, and kills their crying and smiling infants, who strive to flee from impending destruction, but strives in vain : like the traveller, who pursued by the poisonous serpent, in vain exerts his skill and strength, the eager reptile darts its deadly breath, its fatal sting, and now the die is cast : where can he fly for refuge, where can he get an antidote, the poison flows to his panting heart. Thus the citizens of the South, infuriate and contaminate their fellow men ; then let them elope to the North, with all their accumulated vices upon them,

tions of hospitality, which has ruined others, and will eventually ruin us, without a speedy remedy. Indeed a reconciliation, as suggested by a large majority of the friends of the blacks, and men of erudition, is repugnant to nature, common sense, the order of things, and all precedent of ancient and modern times. Nature laughs at the supposition, and art with all its acquirements, cannot give a plausible reason for their hypothesis; and though these arguments are adduced by an ignoramus, in opposition

to be the tormentors of their innocent unconscious fellow citizens: but the similitude is not sufficiently sonorous, we should rather compare the injured, the infuriated, the exiled sons of Africa (who are naturally valliant when invaded, and revengeful when injured) to the mighty monarch of the woods, who couched at the foot of some dreadful rock, when pierced by the hunters flying dart, he suddenly starts at the unexpected wound, and devours all that comes within his reach, while the hunter screens himself secure from his fury, in the clift of the rock. If the Africans are indeed valliant and revengeful, how great must our danger be, especially when they remember the accumulated injuries they have suffered for three or four hundred years from the hands of the barbarous whites; bereaved of what was most near and dear to them, husbands violently separated from their loving wives, children from their parents, and a thousand nameless injuries,

to the writings of literary characters, who can read greek, and talk latin, yet I do not hesitate to affirm, that they cannot be controverted : because the voice of nature says they are true, and Milton says they are reasonable. “ Never,” says he “ can true reconciliation grow, where wounds of deadly heat have pierced so deep.”

And since concluding the first part of our subject, being refered by a friend, to Mr. Jefferson’s notes on Virginia, for farther information, I had the pleasure to find that his writings, with the decision of a committee of gentlemen of the first respectability and information ; declares the solidity of my hypotheises : and if they approve, conceited critics and cruel despots, may disapprove in welcome. As a majority of the laws of Virginia, which were in force during the monarchy, were incompatibly with the principles of republicanism ; the first assembly which met after the organization of the Commonwealth, appointed a committee, men of the first talents and respectability, to revise the whole code, and report it to the assembly ; part of which revisal Mr. Jefferson relates in the following words,

which shows, not only the ingenuity of his head, but also the generosity of his heart.

“ To establish religious freedom on the broadest bottom.

“ To emancipate all slaves born after the passing the act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition ; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing, that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expence, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their genius-es, till the females should be eighteen, and males twenty one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired-strength ; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants ; to in-

duce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. It will probably be asked, why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expence of supplying by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave ? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites ; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained ; new provocations ; the real distinction which nature has made ; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race....To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral. The first difference which strikes us is that of color.

“ This unfortunate difference of color, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the

question 'What further is to be done with them?' join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans, emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.

" It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether *catholic*, or *particular*. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do

what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self love, for restraining the intemperance of passions towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient.

“ The parent storms, the child looks on, catches lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesmen be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriæ of the other. For if a slave can have a country in the world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another : in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavours to

the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on endless generations proceeding from him: with the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself, who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest....But it is impossible to be temperate, and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of

history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

I am not induced by any sinister motives, to propose and support my premature plan, but am conscientiously and positively persuaded, that it is the present interest, and will accelerate the future prosperity, and reciprocal felicity of both parties in a political, commercial, and moral point of view. As I am confident that the naturalization of the blacks, is unavoidably connected with the degradation of the whites, because they could by that means, accomplish by subtilty in the long, what they cannot by violence in the short run : hence, I conceive I cannot do my fellow citizens a greater benefit, than by guarding them a-

gainst those threatening evils; and if I succeed in my present attempt, it would be far more beneficial, literally and vitually, than if matters continued as the are at present, till the blacks confederated for the purpose of vindicating their political and natural rights; and when that was acomplished of subjugating the whites, and I should in such a crisis command a valliant army, march against the confederates, and after displaying invincible courage, spilling my blood and receiving many honorable wounds, return crowned with victory and hailed by my fellow citizens with shouts of triumph and applause. Another consideration strikes my mind, which demonstrate the necessity of vigilence and assiduity in this business, and that procrastination is pregnant with inevitable consequences, and the thief of time, for instance, in the interior, while the adoption of my plan is postponed, every thing must remain unsettled and unsatisfactory: emigrants of property will not like to come among a people that are every day on the brink of intestine commotion: nay, many men of property have left, and others will leave the

Northern States on the same account. Thus we gain nothing but lose every thing; while our Southern brethern, gain every thing and lose nothing, by keeping negroes amongst them. This sentiment is again repeated, to expose the absurdity of such wretched policy. My object is not to avoid totology, nor attend to the radical rules of composition, and the methodical arrangement of words; but rather to collect the most natural, the most simple, and the most convincing arguments to a focus, in order to expose the fatality of such policy, and the futility of all arguments in favour of it: and I flatter myself, that if they will not answer the salutary purpose for which they are intended, they will at least pave the way for something better to be brought forward. Indeed they are written, without any regard to methodical arrangement: however, if the first edition meets with the approbation of the public, the second may easily be revised, and corrected systematically. I hope it will not be considered vanity in me, to affirm that if these stragling desultory ideas were collected, they might form

materials for men of letters to improve into useful matter.

Any man, who will for one moment candidly reflect on the vicissitudes and precariousness of all human affairs, will be convinced, that it is incomparably safer, wiser, and better to remove the most distant cause of evil, and then the effects will naturally cease, in a cool deliberate manner, while it can be done, than to trust it to time and chance, or postpone it to a period when it cannot be removed without the effusion of blood, if removed at all, extreme wrongs and insults will reduce the quietest man to a state of desperation, and repeated acts of cruelty will arouse the slumbering vengeance of an ass. What then must we think of nine hundred thousand negroes who are slaves with numbers who are free ; and add perhaps three or four hundred thousand people of color, who are naturally of a revengeful spirit in the heart of our country, in the south they are enslaved, and north degraded, and precluded from all social rights, and political privileges? I ask what must be the magnitude of their vengeance if it corroborates

with the turpitude of their wrongs? To talk therefore of the naturalization of the blacks, and their domestic and political assimilation with the whites, is the quintessence of absurdity, and an insult to common sense.

Some people will say with great assurance, why may not free blacks live in friendship with the whites?.....Many will speak twice before they think once, and some will speak without thinking at all; and this is the case with such characters, who talk of the blacks having friendship with those, when their common sense forbid them to have faith in, who their reason instructs them to detest, and the innocent blood of their ancestors command, them to execrate. Admitting for the sake of illustration, that some degree of unanimity and friendship at present existed (though the contrary is the case) yet then, even then, every slave ship that arrives in Charleston, tends to obliterate that friendship, makes the breach wider, and the wound deeper, the animosity keener, and gives still more cause to produce an open rupture. Can the

lamb have confidence in the lion, who depopulates the fold? no! no more can the blacks have confidence in the whites. The recent revival of the slave trade, has given them more cause to hate the whites than ever; it is as unreasonable to talk about reconciling them, as it is for the assassin to give the victim of his rage new life, or the ravisher to give the victim of his lust new chastity.

There is a native principle in the rational, which is not to be found in the brutal creation, and which deity implanted in us for valuable purposes, for without it, all social intercourse would cease: and that is natural affection, which when invaded by violence, provokes us into justice, without which, the murderer would escape with impunity, and the robber pass on unimpeached. This natural affection, compels irresistibly the oppressed to abhor the oppressor, the injured to execrate the delinquent: it would cease to be natural affection, if it had not this effect. There are not on this Continent, many persons but what have acknowledged, as their opinion, that the evils consequent on slavery, would take place one time or

another, and the fate of all the nations of antiquity, who supported slavery, confirms the opinion. Those then, who concur in this opinion, should agree as to the means and time, to remove the cause of these threatening evils : but, we need not go far to find either the time or means, for both has found us; the fate of St. Domingo, and the revival of the slave trade in the South proves the fact.

The most powerful stimulus to keep negroes, avarice being removed, evince we have obviated the crime, a little exertion will also remove the punishment. What absurdity it would be for a man, who from virtuous motives, refused to participate in the crimes, or the accumulation of a gang of robbers, and yet continued in their company, till the avengers of blood, pursued and overtook them, when the innocent suffered with the delinquent: yet this is the litteral case of the citizens of the North. Now is the opportunity to shun with the greatest ease, the evils consequent on slavery. Other nations have had such opportunities, but let them slip, and their lassitude proved their ruin. Americans have met with adversity, and was su-

perior to it: by valour and wisdom they
 conquered invincible foes. How mortifying
 the thought, yet how true, by their careless-
 ness and impolicy, they may become the vic-
 tims of insignificant enemies, for one dimi-
 nutive enemy in a garrison, will do more in-
 jury than a thousand formidable ones with-
 out. By prudential caution now, we may
 secure what we procured for posterity by the
 revolution, and thereby fix a memorable
 era, a second 4th of July for our children
 to glory in! From oppressors, ancient and
 modern, we may learn excellent lessons,
 and be surprised into a sense of our danger
 by their misfortunes, and our errors by their
 mistakes. My arguments will no doubt at
 first appear strange, and the plan they are
 intended to consolidate will appear stran-
 ger. The first step to render the operation
 of them practicable, will be as strange, as it
 will be in opposition to local prejudices, and
 sentimental prepossessions: but when the
 first steps are taken, the business will become
 both familiar, natural and agreeable: and
 while we postpone these necessary prelimi-
 naries, we will be like a sloathful gardner,
 who neglects the cultivation of his garden,

till it is covered with weeds : he must clear it some time or starve, as in his garden is his sole dependance for a livelihood : he wishes it done, but is too indolent to set about it : the longer he puts it off, the more he is harrassed with thoughts of the necessity of doing it : by his neglect, the weeds take deeper root in the ground, his nerves relaxes, his strength decreases, and starvation approaches : at last he is forced to set about the work, but being incapacitated to endure hard labour in this languid condition, he faints and dies at the unwelcome task. Thus the longer we put off the work, that must be done, the harder it will be to do, when it is undertaken.

Another consideration strikes my mind, which proves the necessity of adopting my plan.* If no possible danger could be apprehended from the negroes, still the benevolence of our general Government should appropriate part of the millions of acres of our national domains, now laying waste ; for

* The Reader will pardon me for introducing so many spontaneous thoughts, which perhaps bear some similarity to the antecedent and subsequent reflections.

the comfort and accomodation of many thousands of their fellow creatures, who are at present destitute of both the necessities and comforts of life. Let them use their power only to follow the dictates of their goodness, and remember, that none but the merciful shall find mercy, in that dread moment, when both the oppressor and the oppressed, shall appear at the Judgement seat of Christ, and answer for their official, as well as their private conduct.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 12—line 27	from the top,	for <i>D. M.</i> —read <i>M. D.</i>
38	1	for <i>contract</i> —read <i>contrast</i> .
44	18	for <i>boby</i> —read <i>body</i> .
<i>ib.</i>	—	for <i>knowing</i> ---read <i>knawing</i> .
86	21	for <i>and I</i> ---read <i>I</i> .
111	22	for <i>genius</i> ---read <i>generous</i> .



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